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A SKETCH

OF THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

JOHN DE WITT,

Grand Pensionary of Holland,

TO WHICH IS ADDED, HIS

TREATISE ON LIFE ANNUITIES.

BY

ROBERT GIBBES BARNWELL,

U. S. Consul at Amsterdam.

"INTAMINATIS FULGET HONORIBUS."

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To

PROF. J. D. B. DE BOW,

OF WASHINGTON CITY,

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE UNITED STATES CENSUS,

AND EDITOR OF

"De Bow's Review,"

THIS SKETCH

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.

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AUTHOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

In authorizing the publication of this Sketch, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Frederick Muller, an intelligent bookseller of Amsterdam—to Mr. De Zwaan, the obliging Archivist, for his kindness in submitting the Archives at the Hague to my inspection—to Charles Gouraud, Doctor of the Faculty of Letters in Paris, for the information I have received from his elegant treatise, entitled, "*Histoire du Calcul des Probabilités*," and to Mr. Frederick Hendricks, Actuary of the Globe Insurance Company, of London, for certain "Contributions to the History of Insurance."

In the Appendix will be found the original letters of De Witt, which Mr. Hendricks has translated into English.

The author will probably elaborate the subjects embraced in the present Sketch.

R. G. B.

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LIFE

OF

JOHN DE WITT,

GRAND PENSIONARY OF HOLLAND.

CHAPTER I.

The independence of the seven united provinces of the Netherlands takes its date from the peace of Westphalia, in the year of our Lord 1648, when Philip the Second of Spain renounced his claim to the supremacy which he had previously exercised over them. As early as the year 1581, the Deputies of the United States had assembled at Amsterdam, and declared in their manifesto those principles that are now considered fundamental in all free countries, to wit:— That the prince is made for the people, and not the people for the prince. That the prince who treats his subjects as slaves is a tyrant, whom his subjects have a right to dethrone when they have no other means of preserving their liberties. That this right particularly

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belongs to the Netherlands; their sovereign being bound by his coronation oath to observe the laws, under pain of forfeiting his sovereignty.

The illustrious subject of this memoir, who was destined to become a martyr in support of these principles, was born on the twenty-fifth of September, A. D. 1625, in the renowned city of Dort. His father, who had exhibited great fortitude in the troubled times of the republic, in consideration of his high capacity, was promoted to the honorable post of a Burgomaster. He was also entrusted with diplomatic business by the States-General, which he discharged much to his own credit and greatly to the satisfaction of the Assembly; but his untiring zeal did not save him from a close imprisonment in the castle of Louvestien, the common receptacle of state criminals who refused to obey the arbitrary edicts of a tyrant, but which has been converted by the sufferings of a Grotius, a Barnevelt, and a host of other worthies, into a sanctuary of martyrs.

John De Witt indicated precocious signs of that extraordinary genius which burst forth in a blaze of glory at its meridian, but was doomed to go down in a sea of blood. His teachers complained that he knew more than they, and proposed him as a model for all youthful aspirants. He early developed a strong passion for the law and the mathematics, in which he composed a treatise on curves, which displayed ingenious and novel views, much to the delight of his master, Des Cartes. But his ruling passion was for the control of public affairs. He was highly accomplished in what were then styled the seven liberal arts.

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After finishing his academical course at the University of Leyden, and taking his degree as Doctor of Laws, he travelled into foreign countries. On his return, he was created Counsellor Pensionary of his native city, in his 25th year, and soon after was elected Grand Pensionary of Holland and West Friezeland. To crown his happiness, he espoused a lovely damsel, Miss Wendela Bikker, a grand-daughter of a Burgomaster of the famous city of Amsterdam.

This painful and laborious charge prohibited him from holding any other office while engaged in the service of the republic. He was required to be entirely neutral in the settling of difficulties between the cities, towns and colleges in Holland, as well as those of other countries. He could neither give counsel or accept any pension or favor from any foreign state or prince, under any pretext whatever. He was in an especial manner enjoined to exercise all his authority in preserving unimpaired the privileges, rights and customs of Holland. He was required to make a regular report to be submitted to the States General, on all matters which concerned the public welfare. He was required to have a vigilant eye upon the financial interests of the state, and although he was not permitted to regulate or in any way dispose of them, he was required to give his counsel and opinion when called upon by any member of the Assembly. He could hold a correspondence with the ambassadors of the state in foreign countries, but he was strictly forbidden to have any written or verbal communication with any king, prince or ambassador, either within or without the country, concerning the secret affairs of

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state, unless he was expressly authorized by a resolution of the States. For these and other powers and duties too numerous to mention, he was rewarded by a small annual pension and the thanks of the States-General. His office was to continue for the space of five years, but he was eligible to a re-election on being confirmed by a majority of votes. But in the event of his being discontinued, he could not be employed in the service of any other state out of the Province of Holland without the consent of the States of Holland and West Friezeland.

At the time that our hero took command of the ship of state, the public affairs of Holland were in the most embarrassed condition. From the commencement to the tragic end of his career, this able pilot had to encounter storms that would have overwhelmed a statesman who did not possess a genius of inexhaustible resources, and a fortitude that could not be shaken by any reverses.

In Holland, as in other countries, there were two great parties engaged in constant struggle to obtain a predominating influence in the conduct of public affairs. These were the partizans of the Prince of Orange, or the Orange faction as it was called, who desired to enlarge the powers of the Stadholder, and the States-General, a kind of obligarchy, who were in favor of curtailing his authority, or at least of checking the inordinate ambition of one who might be tempted to destroy the balance of power by an undue exercise of the rights and influences invested in that responsible position.

The immense losses which they had suffered from

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the piracy of their ships in the Mediterranean and the East Indies, and the heavy debts they incurred by the wasteful expenditure of the last Stadholder, would have sunk into despair any nation that was not endowed with the indomitable patience and perseverance of the Dutch. But, in addition to this, they had to wage a protracted war against England, with the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, at its head. The Protector having put to death the grandfather of the young Prince of Orange, very naturally cherished a mortal hatred against that illustrious house, and would never have terminated the war unless the States-General would expressly stipulate in the treaty of peace that the Prince would be excluded from the Stadholderate, a dignity which the descendants of their great ancestor had always considered their hereditary right. The act of exclusion declared the heirs of the house of Stuart to be enemies to the throne, and charged all who were engaged in restoring it as guilty of high treason.

The differences which had been brewing for some-time between the two republics at length came to an open rupture, and in the commencement of the year 1652 the States-General published a manifesto, setting forth the injustice of the English, and ordered a medal to be struck, on one side of which the Dutch Republic was represented as a youthful warrior holding a pike with the cap of liberty on its point, and surrounded with the arms of the seven United Provinces, all bound to each other. On the reverse of the medal was engraved a rock in the midst of the sea beaten by the waves. The English also proclaimed their reasons in

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justification of the war, and having recalled their ambassadors from each other's territories, they put to sea with a large armament. Admiral Blake commanded the English fleet, consisting of twenty-six vessels. The Dutch fleet of forty sail was commanded by Admiral Tromp, who was accompanied by Vice-Admirals De Ruyter, De Witt and Evertzen.

The commanders-in-chief were the very personification of their respective countries. Blake possessed an ardent and fiery genius, and was always disposed to make the attack, while the phlegmatic Tromp defended himself by a slow but sure sagacity, which generally enabled him to conquer his adversaries. No sooner were the two fleets in sight of each other, than the signal of battle was given. They engaged in a deadly struggle, which ended in the loss of six of the finest English ships, which were sunk by Tromp, while Blake narrowly escaped from being captured by De Ruyter. The loss of this battle gave much chagrin to Cromwell, and he immediately despatched orders to Blake to renew the battle, in these words:—"Lord Admiral, I command you and your brave companions to drive back those bull-frogs into their marshes, and do not suffer them to importune you any longer with their croaking."

The effect of this message was, to excite Blake to such a pitch of impatience to revenge himself for his defeat, that he flattered himself that victory was now certain. But the second engagement was more unfortunate than the first; for in a few moments after the fleets met, the sea was red with the blood of the slain. The smoke from their cannon so darkened the

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skies, that they could scarcely see the mutilated bodies of their enemies. After a hot fight, which continued for five hours, without either party getting the better of the other, Blake received a severe wound in the thigh, which put his whole fleet in such disorder, that they fled to their own coasts, and left the Dutch masters of the sea.

The news of this second victory created a universal rejoicing in the United Provinces, and at the same time spread great consternation in England. Cromwell lost his usual impassibility, but concealing his mortification as well as he could, he devoted himself to the equipment of a new fleet for the next year. He enlisted all the seamen who were in the different parts of the kingdom, and raked and scraped all the vagabonds in the streets of London, with all possible diligence. Blake, who had recovered from his wound, again took command, thoroughly resolved to repair the dishonor of the arms of the Republic.

In this engagement the Dutch had, at first, the advantage, but the wind being favorable to the English, they were able to single out the Dutch ships, and destroy or sink them in detail. Their fleet being equal in other respects, the contest continued for many hours, and was waged on both sides with unusual vigor. Tromp was at last killed with a musket ball, which so disheartened his men that they availed themselves of the night, which was setting in, to retire with their shattered vessels to their own shores. Thus perished one of the most distinguished naval commanders of ancient or modern times, after having been engaged in more than thirty battles, in which he was always

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victorious. But he willingly sacrified his life rather than survive a defeat which tarnished the glory of his former victories. He was buried with great pomp, at Delft, where a splendid monument has been erected to his memory.

The Dutch having lost their Admiral, and a considerable portion of their fleet, resolved to make peace with Cromwell, although on terms by no means advantageous to themselves. Four Ambassadors were sent to London, who concluded a treaty in the following year. The treaty required the Dutch vessels to lower their flags when they met an English ship. It further required the States-General entirely to abandon the interests of Charles the Second—and that they should make a formal declaration of it to the crowns of Denmark and Sweden. Cromwell undertook, moreover, to attempt a design which he had long cherished—to incorporate Holland with England. His plan of incorporation was, to make the two republics one State, which was to be governed by a sovereign and free parliament, to which the United Provinces should send their deputies, like the different provinces of Great Britain. But the proposal was rejected, the Dutch preferring their own form of government, and justly fearing that Oliver's protectorate would afford them that sort of protection which the wolf gives to the lamb.

The Prince of Orange, who afterwards became so illustrious as William the Third, of England, was at this time only three years old. The masses of the Dutch people, who were devoted to the House of Orange, suspected that the act of exclusion was agreed to by the States-General at the instance of the Grand

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Pensionary, who was opposed to the elevation of the young prince to such a responsible position. In their defence, the States-General proclaimed that the province of Holland, by virtue of its sovereignty, could pass the act of exclusion. That in doing so, there was no breach of the union and amity between the province of Holland and Zealand. And that there was no breach of the general alliance between the United Provinces. And that the said exclusion was not contrary to any precedent resolution. That in a free Republic, no individual could claim high offices by the right of birth; and that the exclusion of the prince was not contrary to liberty. That the act deprived no one of any lawful prerogative; and, finally, that places of trust and dignity, should only be bestowed upon those who were worthy and capable to discharge their duties faithfully.

The Dutch ambassadors returned to the Hague amidst the liveliest manifestations of joy, on the part of the citizens of London. Some of the provinces murmured that these proceedings were conducted without their knowledge or consent; but De Witt is said to have made a powerful and pathetic address, which succeeded, for a time, in reconciling them to the terms of the treaty. He soon after availed himself of his first leisure moments to prepare a report on the financial condition of the country, which at once displayed his marked ability as a statesman. The object of the measure was, to reduce the rate of interest on large sums of money which the last Stadholder had been compelled to borrow, in order to defray the expenditure of his brief though profligate administration. The mother of the young prince being displeased that

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her son should be deprived of his titles and honors, by the act of exclusion, submitted a remonstrance to the States-General upon the subject; but De Witt's civilities and attentions to her, so far won her regards and respect, that she even consented to permit him to become his tutor. He also gained much applause by the tact and skill which he displayed in settling disturbances between Sweden, Poland and Denmark, on the question of maintaining a free navigation of the North Sea. By recommending rigorous laws, he at the same time succeeded in putting an end to the barbarous custom of duelling, which had victimized some of the noblest and bravest spirits of the land. The differences between the provinces of Holland broke out with increased animosity, in the year 1657. The inhabitants in Tergoes rebelled against their magistrates—those in Groningen against the Stadholder; and in Overyssel one city was opposed to the other. This civil war was conducted with such bitter animosity, that they were compelled to refer their differences to the Grand Pensionary and the Burgomaster of Amsterdam, who succeeded in restoring the belligerents to their ancient friendship.

The reign of Richard Cromwell was brief; and no sooner was he deposed, than the English parliament proclaimed Charles the Second their legitimate king. Charles had been wandering about the continent for many years, in exile, but had recently sequestered himself at Breda, where a deputation of five hundred noblemen and gentlemen was despatched to escort him back to his native country. The States-General also requested him to do them the honor to become their

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guest on his passage through the Hague. He was followed by a cortege of a hundred and fifty carriages, drawn by six horses splendidly caparisoned, accompanied by pursuivants and outriders. The stately procession marched in great pomp to the Hague, where they were magnificently entertained for several days. On the morning after his arrival, the Queen of Bohemia, the Dutchess-Dowager of Orange, the foreign Ambassadors, and Council of State, headed by the Grand Pensionary, called to present their congratulations. His Majesty, who excelled in the courtly accomplishments of bowing and scraping, received them graciously, and thanked them for their cordial salutations. De Witt was appointed to deliver an address, in the name of the States-General, to which the king responded, in committing his sister and his nephew to their protection. Soon after, he was escorted by the whole court, and an immense crowd, to a small fishing town, called Schevening, where he embarked for England amidst the deafening shouts and cheers of the multitude. But so sudden are the vicissitudes in this mortal life! No sooner had he reached England, than he received the mournful intelligence that his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and his sister, were suddenly taken off by the small-pox. The death of the princess was sincerely regretted, and by none more than the Grand Pensionary, to whose guardianship she had committed her infant son. De Witt executed his trust with the most scrupulous fidelity, notwithstanding the hostility which arose between them at a later period, when the elevation of the young prince to the Stadholderate seemed to be necessary, in order to avert the calamities that had befallen the country.

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Charles was welcomed home with the most tumultuous rejoicings, but soon forgetting the hospitalities of the Dutch and abandoning himself to pleasure, he delivered the reins of government into the hands of one of the most profligate cabals that ever controlled the destinies of England. Under various plausible but flimsy pretexts they persuaded him to declare war against Holland. It was pretended that they suffered great wrongs and indignities by the subjects of the United Provinces, who obstructed their commerce. The English seemed to entertain the idea that they had a sort of divine right to a monopoly of the sea. The Dutch, who were at this time the most industrious and wealthy nation in Europe, had, in a great measure, monopolized the carrying trade of the world. They had amassed immense riches by the herring fishery, in which they surpassed all others in quality, and especially in their manner of preserving them. They had also pursued the whale-fishery on the coasts of Greenland and Labrador, and had there come in contact with the English, who claimed the whole trade to themselves. Their navy, too, had become so formidable as to excite the envy of their neighbors, who were resolved to contest with them who should hold the trident of the seas. The still more frivolous pretext of De Ruyter's refusing to lower his colors when he passed an English ship, was urged as a reason why the two nations should appeal to arms, to decide the justice of their cause.

The Duke of York, who mortally hated the Dutch, and who was ambitious of displaying his valor, was violent in arousing the spirit of the nation to revenge themselves for their imaginary wrongs. The Dutch Ambassador in London urged every argument to avert

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the dire calamities of war, but the Court put the whole blame upon the Dutch; like Esop's wolf, who charged the lamb with disturbing the clear stream, although it was manifest that he had drank of the troubled water far from its source.

"But who can turn the stream of destiny,
Or break the chain of strong necessity."

On the first day of the year 1665, the curtains of the bloody tragedy were uplifted. The Dutch immediately placed themselves in a posture of defence, and ordered Admiral Opdam to protect their coast, with a numerous fleet. The English followed their example, and captured and confiscated many of the enemies' ships, which had been compelled to take refuge in their ports from the storm. During the engagement, Opdam was blown up with the ship which he commanded, and thus one of the main supports of the Dutch navy was taken away. The Duke of York and Prince Rupert fought with great bravery, but three of their lieutenants, Lords Falmouth, Muskerry and Portland, were killed by a single cannon-ball. Some of the Dutch captains were promoted for their gallant conduct, several were declared infamous, and sentenced to dismission from the service, and had their swords broken, while others were banished from the country, after having been exposed to public derision with ropes around their necks.

Up to this time, the Dutch received a severe check, but were by no means disposed to give up the contest. A new fleet was fitted out with Admiral Tromp in command. He was the son of the famous Admiral who contemptuously hoisted a broom to his mast-head, to indicate that he had swept the channel clean of his

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enemies. Contrary to the advice of his friends, De Witt volunteered to enter into the service, as pilot, "to guide the whirlwind and direct the storm." It was represented to him that his enemies would take advantage of his absence to involve the State in further embarrassments; but he replied, That the preservation of his person and his happiness depended upon the safety and properity of the state, and that the good or ill success of a second naval contest would either make or mar them; that the sailors had enough courage, but that they wanted the necessary discretion to enable them to come off victorious.

He at once applied himself with indefatigable zeal to inspect and supervise the affairs of their whole marine, and his intuitive genius discovered several defects which had escaped the penetration of old and experienced admirals. The difficulty was to get their ships out of the harbor of the Texel, as the winds were contrary, and they were surrounded with sand banks upon which the breakers ran high. The marine experts pronounced their egress impossible, but DeWitt was determined, by a bold mathematical calculation, to make the attempt. After studying the matter, he found that of the thirty-two currents of wind, there was only one that was favorable. With the plumb-line in his hand, he sounded the most dangerous places, and remarked that in those spots where the water was lowest, it was seven fathoms deep. Thus the whole fleet rode out triumphantly to sea. The place has retained the name of *De Witt's Deep* to this day. Their fleet was soon after joined by the division under command of De Ruyter. The whole fleet was composed of ninety-two

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vessels, upon which there were more than four thousand pieces of cannon, and fifteen thousand sailors, besides three thousand foot soldiers who had heretofore served only on the land. A portion of them was despatched to the coast of Norway, to intercept the English vessels that were on their return from the East Indies. De Witt had given instructions that in case of any of their vessels being captured, they should cast into the sea whatever printed documents or other writings they might have on board. The advanced squadrons of the Dutch fleet sailed towards Bergen, and found that there had been several English vessels and a convoy of ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, in which the former were repulsed with considerable loss. A violent storm arose, in which the Grand Pensionary narrowly escaped being ship-wrecked. His ship was old and leaky, but he behaved with the greatest intrepidity. While exposed to the pelting of the storm, he piloted the ship with his own hands, his Argus eyes watching every motion of the sailors, and his voice animating them to the discharge of their duties. He occasionally engaged the fleet in grand sham battles, and pointed out many errors in their manœuvres, which tended greatly to increase their vigilance in taking advantage of the enemy.

The kings of France and Denmark were not idle spectators, but resolved to enter into an alliance with the States. The plague and fire broke out about this time in London, which carried off about a hundred thousand inhabitants, and laid in ruins a considerable portion of the city. This threw a damper on the ardor of the English, but did not prevent them from contin-

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uing the war. The overture which they made to enlist the king of Spain in alliance with them, was entirely unsuccessful, so that they were compelled to call for the aid of the little Bishop of Munster, an ambitious prelate who pocketed a large subsidy to enable him to revenge himself on the Dutch, but soon concluding that "discretion was the better part of valor," he abandoned the alliance and retreated to his own dominions. It is said that his sending a stupid Benedictine monk, as his Ambassador to the English Court, was considered as ominous of disasters. Sir William Temple was sent to Munster to negotiate a treaty, and considering that it was his first debut into diplomatic life, he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the government, but said that between boar hunting and wine bibbing, they came very near being the death of him.

The French fleet under the command of the Duke of Beaufort, sailed from Toulon, and soon after effected a junction with the Dutch fleet, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts made by the English fleet to prevent it. On the 1st of June, Vice Admiral Sir William Berkely was killed, and his ship captured. Admiral Evertzen was killed, but in consequence of a heavy gale, the cannon balls of the Dutch failed their aim, and lodged in the sail and rigging. On the second day, Tromp and De Ruyter joined their forces, and battering to pieces two-thirds of the enemy's fleet, compelled the remainder to take refuge on their own coasts. The veteran Albemarle and the gallant Ossory behaved with their usual bravery in effecting a retreat, which was considered to be more glorious than a victory. Sir George Aiscue having struck upon a sand bank,

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was captured and confined in the castle of Louvestein. On the two following days the battle was waged with desperate valor on both sides, but night intervening, it was impossible to say which party gained the victory. A quatrain, written by a Dutch poetaster, would seem to entitle them to that honor; or at least they claimed a *divided* empire of that element which had been the scene of their glory.

> Pugnatum est Batavos inter fortes que Britannos
> Et vix post quartum pugna peracta diem
> *Summa* sibi retinent Batavi, *ima* œquoris Angli,
> *Divisum imperium* sic juvat esse maris.

Which being interpreted, signifies that the Dutch claimed the *surface* of the ocean, while the English had an indisputable title to the bottom of it, a considerable portion of their fleet having been consigned to that region. The States appointed a day of thanksgiving, which was celebrated with bonfires and illuminations throughout all the provinces of Holland.

CHAPTER II.

The English having been considerably damaged, and deeply involved in debt, became soon as desirous of peace as before they had been clamorous for war. In his correspondence with the States, Charles took occasion to intimate his desire to enter into amicable relations with them, and proposed that a treaty of peace should be negotiated at London, but the Dutch preferring some spot within their own territories, fixed upon

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Breda. De Witt perceiving that it was a favorable opportunity to revenge himself for their arrogance in forcing such an unjust war upon his country, managed to protract the negotiations, and made great preparations to strike a decisive blow. De Ruyter was ordered to enter the Thames with his fleet, where he succeeded in taking Sheerness and Chatham, and burned many of the English ships; so that the conflagration was visible, and the thunder of his cannon audible to the citizens of London. But finally, on the 10th of July, 1667, the treaty was concluded and signed. Polerone, a rich spice island in the East Indies, was awarded to the Dutch. Acadia was given to the French, and New York was conceded to the English.

The war had scarcely been brought to a happy issue by the treaty of Breda, when a formidable enemy threatened to involve the state in new embarrassments. Louis the Fourteenth, then in the prime of his youth, and ambitious of glory, suddenly appeared in person with an immense army, commanded by his ablest generals, Condé and Turenne, and captured several of the best fortified towns on the frontiers of the Netherlands, before any successful resistance could be opposed to them. This unexpected movement alarmed the neighboring nations, and stirred up the terror and indignation of the Dutch to the highest pitch. The English, too, feeling aggrieved by the rising power of France, were disposed to curb the aspiring temper of her monarch, which threatened to disturb the balance of power, and to destroy the liberties of Europe. His indifference to the sacred obligations into which he had entered by renouncing

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the treaty of the Pyrenees, impressed itself upon the minds of those who were desirous of preserving peace, as a flagrant evidence of his unscrupulous ambition.

Discontent also prevailed among the German states, but their reluctance in taking any active steps to indicate their apprehensions, induced the English nation to make the first advances in proposing an alliance with Holland. Sir William Temple, who had been their minister resident at Brussels, was instructed to proceed to the Hague, and to sound the Dutch government, which was embodied in the person of De Witt, as to the policy of forming an alliance, offensive and defensive, against the French. De Witt intimated his willingness to do all in his power to accomplish so desirable an object; but said that it was a fundamental law of the States never to enter into any alliance but with full approbation and consent of all the provinces and towns of Holland, and in the event of his negotiation not obtaining their approbation, his head would be forfeited. And further, that as France had been long their ally, and England but recently their bitter enemy, it could not be expected that he would act in haste. But that necessity which is said to have no law, overruled his apprehensions and scruples, and he resolved to run the risk. Temple and himself put their heads together, and without resting scarcely to eat or sleep for five successive days and nights, they drew up the articles of the famous treaty which gained them so much applause, and which is so well known as the Triple Alliance. It was made triple by admitting Sweden to enter into the alliance with them. In a letter written by Temple to a friend soon after, he

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says :—" They will needs have me pass here for one of great abilities for having finished and signed in five days a treaty of so much importance to Christendom. But I will tell you the secret of it. To draw things out of their centre requires labor and address to put them into motion ; but to make them return thither, nature helps so far that there needs no more than just to set them agoing. Now, I think a strict alliance is the true centre of our two nations. There was also another accident which contributed very much to this affair, and that was a great confidence arisen between the Pensioner and me. He is extremely pleased with me, and my sincere, open way of dealing ; and with all the reason in the world, I am infinitely pleased with him on the same score, and look upon him as one of the greatest geniuses I have known, as a man of honor, and the most easy in conversation as well as in business."

The announcement of the treaty spread universal rejoicing throughout Holland. De Witt gave a splendid ball at the Hague, at which the Prince of Orange, Temple, and all the foreign ambassadors were present. The Prince opened the dance, and De Witt deigned to testify his joy by participating in it, and acquitted himself to the admiration of all. But his joy was soon turned into mourning. His beloved wife, whom he called "his true and better half," was suddenly taken from him. His friend Temple wrote him a kind letter of condolence, to which he replied as follows :—" In your obliging letter I find so many marks of affection and tenderness for me, that I cannot refrain from returning you my most humble thanks, and to tell you

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that of all the consolations afforded me in my affliction, none has been more effectual than what I received from you. I find there it is the heart that speaks, and that you truly take part in my affliction, whereof I see you know the greatness, because you so well know the inestimable loss that I have suffered. And I am free to say, that if any remedy be capable of healing the wound, it will doubtless be what your gentle healing hand has applied to it. I receive it as I ought, and will endeavor to profit by all your consolations, by combating my weakness with the strength of your reasons, which are dictated not only by that Christian philosophy of which you make profession, but by that sincere friendship with which you were always pleased to honor me."

It is well known that this distinguished diplomatist figured conspicuously in almost all of the negotiations between England and foreign nations at that period. He was born in the year 1628; and after graduating with distinction, at the University of Cambridge, he visited the continent, where he remained for several years, studying modern languages and cultivating himself in those accomplishments by which he attained such eminence, when called to the conduct of public affairs. From his thirty-second to his fifty-second year, he was constantly engaged in the management of diplomatic business with Holland; and from his frank and statesmanlike behavior, he acquired the particular esteem of the Grand Pensionary, with whom he lived on terms of cordial intimacy. His correspondence has been preserved with care, among the State archives. He was the only statesman who

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could cope with De Witt, and the only one who could appreciate his extraordinary talents. He considered him the greatest genius whom he had ever known. In the year 1680, he retired from public life, "being sensible that there was little in a Court but a perpetual exchange of false friendship, pretended honesty, seeming confidence and designing gratitude." In the latter years of his life, he spent the most of his time at his country-seat, Sheen, which he called "his nest." He employed himself in improving his gardens after the Dutch model, and in writing miscellaneous works for the benefit of his son. His "Observations on the United Provinces of the Netherlands," is the most correct and amusing of all his compositions, and is, perhaps, the only one which is destined to a long popularity. He died in the year 1700; and, according to his instructions, his heart was buried under a sun-dial, which stood in front of his residence. Perhaps his graceful translation of the 29th Ode of the 3d Book of Horace, may give some idea of his philosophical temper, as well as his poetical talents.

"He only lives content, and his own man,
Or rather master, who each night can say,
'Tis well, thanks to the gods, I've lived to-day;
This is my own, this never can
Like other goods, be forced or stolen away.

And for to-morrow, let me laugh or weep—
"Let the sun shine, or storms or tempests ring,
Yet 'tis not in the power of fate, a thing
Should ne'er have been, or not be safe,
Which flying time has covered with his wing.

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"Capricious fortune plays a scornful game
With human things; uncertain as the wind,—
Sometimes to thee, sometimes to me is kind,
Throws about honor, wealth and fame,
At random, heedless, humorous and blind.

"He's wise, who, when she smiles, the good enjoys,
And unallayed with fears of future ill;
But if she frowns, e'en let her have her will.
I can with joy resign the toys,
And lie wrapt up in my own virtue still."

CHAPTER III.

The rapidity and success with which the triple league was ratified, gave as great umbrage to the French monarch as it had given joy to the Hollanders, but he was determined to revenge himself for this sudden check to his vaulting ambition. Although he had himself proposed the terms on which the treaty was based, he used every effort to elude it. It was only from apprehension of the serious consequences that might ensue, that Spain could be persuaded to relinquish her possessions, which France had succeeded in subjugating. It was urged that certain destruction would befall her in the event of her young monarch dying without issue. They resolved to hold a convention at Aix-la-Chapelle to settle the terms of reconciliation, which, not without much difficulty, procured a short though delusive peace. For a season all Europe seemed to repose with security under the protecting wings of that confederacy which had been formed from

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motives of self-interest and self-preservation. Spain was compelled, though with a bad grace, to accept of the alternative offered, and Lewis was permitted to extend his garrisons into the heart of the Low-Countries.

But while Temple and De Witt were commended and lionized for their diplomatic address in forming the Triple Alliance, a fresh storm was brewing. Temple returned to England, and De Witt went to Amsterdam to spend the Christmas holidays among his friends. As soon as they returned to the Hague, they had to negotiate about the right of free passage which the English pretended to have in the territories that the Dutch owned in the East Indies. As the English claimed the trident of the seas, they wished to compel the Dutch ships to lower their colors whenever they passed theirs, although it was expressly stated in the treaty of Breda that the two nations were to be placed on precisely the same footing as they were before the war. Another cause of difference was still more trifling, but was one of the principal incidents which induced the king of England to declare war against the United Provinces. The English demanded permission to let their countrymen pass from Surinam with their slaves to their own country, which was positively prohibited by the terms of the last treaty. The king of France having been informed of these dissensions through his ambassador at the Hague, thought it a favorable opportunity for him to propose to De Witt to break off his alliance with England and Sweden and form a new alliance with himself. He said that by such a treaty they would remove the sus-

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picion and fear which the States entertained when his army invaded Flanders, and that it would at the same time restore the mutual friendship which had formerly subsisted between them. But De Witt was obstinate in refusing to form an alliance which he foresaw would be of short duration, and which could not be brought about without compromising his honor. Louis, finding himself thwarted in concocting his treacherous proposal to the States, ordered his ambassador at London to sound the king. He soon discovered what he had strongly suspected, that Charles was never pleased with the Triple Alliance. His want of money and his secret attachment to the Catholic religion concurring with the ambitious projects of his ministers, who, with his mistresses, exercised absolute control over him, induced him to seize the bait that was thus temptingly offered, and he henceforth became the salaried viceroy of France.

His ministers suggested to him that it was high time for him to rouse himself from his lethargy, and to recover that authority which his predecessors during so many ages had peaceably enjoyed; that the great error, or rather misfortune of his father, was, that he had not formed any close connection with foreign princes, who, on the first breaking out of the rebellion, would have come to his assistance. That the present alliance having been entered into with so many weaker potentates, who themselves stood in need of the king's protection, could never serve to maintain, much less to augment, the royal authority. That the French monarch, alone so generous a prince, and by blood so nearly allied to the king, would be found both able and willing, if gratified in his ambition, to defend the com-

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mon cause of kings against usurping subjects. That a war undertaken against Holland by the united force of two such mighty potentates, would prove an easy enterprise, and would serve all the purposes that were aimed at. That under pretence of that war, it would not be difficult to levy a military force, without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his subjects, the king would vainly expect to defend his prerogative. That his naval power might be obtained partly by the supplies which on other pretences might be easily obtained from Parliament, partly by subsidies from France, partly by captures, which might easily be made on that opulent republic. That in such a situation, attempts to recover the lost authority of the crown would be attended with success; nor would any malcontents dare to resist a prince fortified by so powerful an alliance; or if they did, they would only draw more certain ruin on themselves and on their cause, and that by subduing the states, a great step would be made towards a reformation of the government, since it was apparent that that republic, by its fame and grandeur, fortified in his factious subjects their attachment to what they vainly called their civil and religious liberties.

Such were the deliberations of the cabal—those "grand infernal peers," as Milton would call them, (Moloc, Belial, Mammon, Beelzebub and Satan.) Shaftesbury was considered their head and front:

> "A fairer spirit lost not heaven; he seemed
> For dignity composed and high exploit:
> But all was false and hollow; tho' his tongue
> Dropped manna, and could make the worse appear
> The better reason, to perplex and
> Dash maturest counsels."

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Clifford said that the States had behaved basely; that De Witt was a rogue and a rascal; that it was beneath the king of England or any other king to have any thing to do with such wretches. His sentence was for open war. In June, 1671, the designs of the cabal were matured, and the mask was thrown aside. It was ascertained that they secretly formed an alliance with France, and soon after openly declared war against the states.

> "Amphibious wretches! sudden be your fall,
> May man un-dam you, and God-damn you all,"

was the infernally heroic couplet with which Clifford doomed the whole Dutch nation to destruction.

CHAPTER IV.

In order to furnish a specimen of De Witt's political writings, the following extract has been made from a work which was originally written in Flemish and then translated into French:

"I understand a Republic to be a State, in which an Assembly duly elected by the people, which is the fountain of all legitimate power, has the right to make laws, and the ability to enforce them. By a monarchical government, I understand, not only a State in which a single individual has the right and the power to make or unmake laws, according to his own will and pleasure, but, also a State where a single person, even without any right, has the power to enforce his orders, or

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to direct the laws of a higher regency, or to direct the execution of them, according to his sovereign will.

"If the shadow of a Republican government has been so agreeable to the merchants, and other good citizens, as to increase and establish their commerce and navigation, what effects would not a pure Republic produce, if we would reflect upon the good or evil fruits of other governments, where force is employed without right? For right is vain without force, as it must always yield to a superior power.

"By a legitimate government, I mean the right of compelling obedience to the laws, where this right should be founded upon long possession, or upon laws and customs which would be without force, unless they were sustained by the community, who would willingly obey them, and punish those who were disobedient. In like manner, a considerable number of persons attached to a chief or governor, even without any legitimate right, would enable him to overturn established laws, and put lawful rulers out of the just possession of their authority.

"I will suppose then, a State without arms, in which the power of the government ordinarily devolves upon him who can force the greatest number to obey him, which is generally the lowest class of people. In such a case, this poor and ignorant people are more disposed to destroy their legitimate rulers, than people of honor and distinction, who constitute the smallest number, are disposed to protect them against such violence. With regard to an armed State, all good statesmen hold as an infallible maxim, that he who is master of the troops is master of the fortresses in which they are

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garrisoned; and he who is master of these, too, is master of the whole State; for soldiers are accustomed implicitly to obey their officers, under pain of severe punishment. Besides, these people having nothing to lose, and deriving their benefits by wars and revolutions, more than by peaceful avocations; he who commands them, or who is their chief, can easily engage them in his enterprises against lawful rulers, who are without arms and defence, and surprise them before they are able to protect themselves.

"If this maxim is truly, that by which one can make himself master of a State, he who possesses with the affection of his soldiers, that of the lower class, can make himself the undisputed master of the whole State, since by a right, which they yield to him, he has the power to assemble the army at his pleasure. We can consider such a minister as having in his hands the whole power and force of a Republic, and as being effectively the Monarch and Sovereign of a State, with the hope that the very shadow of a Republic will insensibly pass away, without the least traces of it remaining, and that we may regard it in this point of view, not as a Republic, but as a true monarchy.

"The regents who have such a chief must, despite their free government, ask his advice in all important affairs. They must flatter him, and take good care how they contradict his will, for fear of being dismissed from their employments, if indeed, they are not treated still more harshly. Rome affords a memorable example in this particular, since that haughty Republic was deprived of so large a number of its sage counsellors. If a people so jealous of their liberties, could not pro-

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tect themselves against the violence of such a chief, we must then conclude that it is impossible. Although this Republic has had many chiefs to command her armies, who had many differences and jealousies among them, and appeared too feeble to become masters of the State, she has nevertheless been constrained to bend her neck as soon as one of these chiefs has become stronger than the others, or as soon as the three have united to divide the Republic between them; so that I still repeat it, that when a single person in a Republic obtains the affections of the army and the populace, the State has entirely lost her liberties, or will certainly do so.

"*A fortiori*, if the Republic of Holland admitted into her armies strangers, born under monarchies, as those of France and England, and garrisons them in the frontier cities which surround Holland, that are governed by a small number of good regents, and inhabited by people who are so ignorant of their own welfare, such a people would naturally expect more happiness from one such formidable chief, than from a free republic, believing that they owed more obedience to him than to their lawful rulers. Experience has shown that the sword of war is more efficient in the hands of a military chieftain, than the sword of justice in the hands of civil magistrates.

"It is well known that the regents and magistrates in republics, derive very little profit from their employment, and are generally in moderate circumstances, as they are not able to enrich themselves with the public property. This constrains them to endeavor by commerce, and other means, to support their families, as in

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the Republics of Venice, Genoa, Ragusa, Lucca, and others. It is certain that many of the Regents of Holland maintain themselves by commerce, manufactures, fishery and navigation. And even when they have enough property to enable them to subsist by their rents, as there are no convents, nor church benefices among us, the compensation to ministers is so small, that people who have families derive no benefit therefrom. For which reason the regents are, for the most part, interested in maintaining and encouraging commerce and navigation.

"I will now extend my reflections, and examine if fishery, commerce, navigation and manufactures, are favored under a monarchical government. We will first consider if this little country, which produces little or nothing within herself, and which fetches money from foreign countries, and is, in other respects, burdened with oppressive imposts, would be willing to contribute millions to the expenses of a court, which would fall upon the shoulders of the good people of the country.

"In the first place, it is certain that every prince of genius, who would wish to rule according to his own will, would attempt to reduce the large cities of Holland to such a condition that he would control them. In order to break the power of the old regents, he would employ all possible means to introduce foreigners into the regency who would favor the small towns and villages, to the disadvantage of the large cities. And inasmuch as the inhabitants of these cities would soon perceive their impending ruin, he would endeavor to reduce them into further subjection, by garrisons

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of foreign troops, and by the erection of citadels and fortresses, at the public expense.

"The city of Amsterdam, in 1571, contained about two hundred acres of land, and the regents, at that time, were all good Catholics, and very loyal to their king. Its fine situation, its flourishing commerce in the East, and the increase of its inhabitants, did not give so much umbrage to King Philip the Second, but that he formed the design of building a citadel there, and that the inhabitants of the city had granted him two hundred thousand francs to finish the castle which he had commenced at Flessingen. As those wise and politic monarchs, Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second, had discovered no better remedy to keep eternally under the yoke those great commercial cities, Naples, Milan, Antwerp and Ghent, but by establishing citadels, so we have seen many examples of the same in our time.

"Besides, it does not always happen that princes and princesses govern by themselves; particularly during the minority of a prince there are tutors and ministers. In the flower of his youth he is generally occupied with pleasures and amusement, and his affairs are managed by his favorites and creatures, who are ordinarily those who are more fitted to cater to his vicious passions, than to control affairs of State. In a more advanced age, he is fatigued by cares from which he is happy to be released. All is then abandoned to favorites and courtiers, who avail themselves of their position to enrich themselves and families.

"It is certain, then, that the sovereigns who would reign in Holland, be they princes or princesses, tutors,

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favorites or courtiers, none of them would be interested in fishery, commerce or navigation. They would find it much more to their advantage to increase the employments and benefices in the regency, in the large cities, which they would endeavor to make more profitable under the pretext that that would enlarge the domains of the prince; as, in fact, when we make a detail of the domains of monarchs, we must always count the great and honorable employments which they have at their disposal. The favorites of a court would prefer this way of establishing and advancing the interests of their families to the uncertain gain of commerce and navigation. And even when they would engage in commercial pursuits, they would make regulations in conformity with their own interests and utility, to the prejudice of the other inhabitants.

"In addition to this, the rich and naturally uncouth Hollanders would not be able to gain the affection of our sovereigns by flatteries like those polished nobles of France and England, or like the poor Germans in our neighborhood, who are accustomed to submit, like slaves, to their lords, whom necessity would compel to abandon their country, and introduce here their own customs, and make themselves agreeable by their flatteries and servile submissions. The prince, on the other hand, would regard these persons as debtors to him for their goods and fortunes—the preservation of which would depend upon his favor being contrary to our privileges, which would be sacrificed in order to aggrandize him at the expense and to the ruin of Holland.

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"Under these circumstances, we readily believe that the regents and magistrates would endeavor, by all possible means, each one, in their respective cities, or in their general assemblies, to preserve by their counsel or direction, freedom in religious matters, a license of monopoly which would retrench the privileges of others; to moderate excessive taxation, and to establish justice in favor of merchants and the common people; and, finally, to arm the citizens in self-defence.

"With regard to the Church benefices, it is known that these dignities are of so little profit, and of so little consequence, in Holland, that the regents or magistrates care nothing for them. It would be very dangerous to permit other religions to hold assemblies to direct their Church affairs; for under this pretext they would create dissensions and excite revolutions in order to depose the magistrates, and to exercise undue influence over the present dominant religion.

"It is well known that all prudent chiefs, and those who aspire to sovereignty, begin by favoring seditious preachers, in order to attain their ends; but so soon as their objects are gained, they perceive how dangerous such ministers are in a State; and instead of rewarding them, they make them feel the just chastisement for their rebellion, by kicking down the ladder by which they climbed into power.

"We have a memorable example of this in France. King Henry the Fourth favored the ministers and subjects of Huguenot religion, because they were useful to him; but he soon put a check upon them. We have also seen how Oliver Cromwell used the Presbyterian ministers in England, and afterwards the Inde-

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pendents, in order to have their influence in electing him Protector, by sowing dissensions among them. But he soon after abandoned them to their fate.

"Our own history, too, shows that the Prince of Orange, William the First, would have followed in the same footsteps, since we see the Reformed ministers who favored him extremely at first, mortally hated him when he had attained to the highest dignity, because he was too indulgent towards other sects. They charged him with being an Atheist, and having neither faith or law, so that he was constrained to call an assembly of the States of Holland to make rules for the government and administration of the Church. These dissensions terminated in his assassination. His successor, Prince Maurice, would probably have shared the same fate, had he not sacrificed Olden Barnevelt to gratify his own tyrannical ambition. We cannot believe that this State, finding itself freed from a chief who aims at the supreme authority, will give a loose rein to these fanatics; for freedom of religion is necessary to keep them in check.

"Should any one assert that the most powerful sect, that is to say the Roman Catholics, who have a Pope for their head, with other chiefs under him, are better affected to our powerful neighbor, the king of Spain, can by too great indulgence change this mild government, in order to introduce themselves here, he must consider that the Roman Catholics are governed monarchically in matters of religion; and that wherever they are masters, they do not tolerate any other sects among them. This would cause the other religions to take the part of the regents, and to unite with them to pun-

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ish the seditious. The examples of the ancient church teach us that after the ecclesiastics had converted the Roman Emperor to christianity, they subjugated the heathens more by their political power than by examples of piety. They availed themselves of their ministerial authority to establish a hierarchy, independent of the State, as we see in the Roman church to this day.

"This is confirmed by *Otto Fresingenius*, a Roman Catholic bishop, who states that the Roman Empire was deprived, not only of the spiritual sword, but of the temporal sword which belonged to it, concludes with these words: Although it is not my province to treat of these things, it seems to me that the church is to blame for giving to the State a sword which they have obtained from the regents and from the good will of the Emperor, *unless they thought proper to imitate King David, who after he had vanquished the Philistines by the spirit of God, cut off the head of Goliath with his own sword.*"

The illustrious author, after reviewing the whole history of his country from the earliest time through its various changes of fortune, concludes as follows:

"While we are enjoying the good fruits of a free government at present, notwithstanding the difficulties and perils through which we have passed, we are still in the winter of this happy change, where the greatest part of the grain is yet under ground, and the remainder is preparing to be sown in the spring; we may imagine how agreeable the summer and autumn will be, when the coming harvest will be gathered in. With the continuation of this government, and the blessing

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of God, our country may become the most prosperous and powerful nation in the world. We must then not only beseech the Almighty to preserve our State, but we must be prepared joyfully to sacrifice our property, our blood and our lives, rather than to permit the foundations and principles of our free government to be undermined or overturned by electing a Stadholder to rule over us."

De Witt was decidedly opposed to the government either of king Log, or king Stork. His views, as expressed in his whole treatise, prove him to be in no respect behind the Fathers of our own great republic, whose political faith has been proclaimed to the world, in our glorious Declaration of Independence. While he was preparing this work, ALGERNON SIDNEY, who had been wandering in exile on the continent, repaired to the Hague to see his friend Sir Wm. Temple. There he was introduced to the Grand Pensionary, who, as it may be supposed, conceived a high admiration for his talents and attachment to his person, as well as sympathy for his misfortunes. During the frequent interviews between them, Sidney exerted his "luxuriant and insinuating address" to persuade De Witt to attempt the invasion of England, but the time was not ripe for such a daring and dubious enterprise. Those immortal "*Discourses concerning government*" were doubtless undergoing a rigid analysis in the laboratory of his active mind, and show him to have been the greatest master of this science that the world has yet seen. What effect these discussions produced, we are not informed, but it may be safely conjectured that the lucid opinions of De Witt must have fortified in no small

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degree, the reasonable conclusions of the undaunted republican. De Witt's writings were proscribed in Holland, and it is well known that Sidney's were not published until a succeeding age, and a free press had wrought a complete revolution in public sentiment. A few extracts from his sixth section will satisfy us that he had no faith in the divine right of kings, as maintained by the sophistry of Sir Robert Filmer, whose *patriarchal* theory has become obsolete, unless it be confined to those nations which inhabit regions beyond the Danube and the Red Sea.

"But our author, (Sir Robert Filmer) very wittily concludes: That if by the law of God, the power be immediately in the people, *God is the author of democracy.* And why not as well as of a tyranny? Is there anything in it repugnant to the being of God? Is there more reason to impute to God Caligula's monarchy than the democracy of Athens? Or is it more for the glory of God to assert his presence with the Ottoman or French monarch, than with the popular governments of the Switzers and the Grisons? Is pride, malice, luxury and violence so suitable to his being, that they who exercise them are reputed to be his ministers? And is modesty, humility, equality and justice so contrary to his nature, that they who live in them should be thought his enemies? Is there any absurdity in saying, that since God, in goodness and mercy to mankind, hath with an equal hand given to all the benefit of liberty, with some measure of understanding how to employ it, 'tis lawful for any nation, as occasion shall require, to give the exercise of that power to one or more men under

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certain limitations and conditions; or to retain it to themselves, if they think it good for them? If this may be done, we are at an end of all controversies concerning one form of government established by God, to which all mankind must submit; and we may safely conclude that having given to all men, in some degree, a capacity of judging for themselves, he hath granted to all likewise a liberty of inventing such forms as please them best, without favoring one more than another.

"The next point is subtle; and he thinks therefore to have brought Bellarmine and such as agree with him to a nonplus. He doubts who shall judge of the lawful cause of changing the government; and says it is "a pestilent conclusion to place that power in the multitude." But why should this be esteemed pestilent? or to whom? If the allowance of such a power to the Senate was pestilent to Nero, it was beneficial to mankind; and the denial of it which would have given to Nero an opportunity of continuing in his villanies, would have been pestilent to the best men, whom he endeavored to destroy, and to all others that received benefit from them. But this question depends upon another: for if governments are constituted for the pleasure, greatness or profit of one man, he must not be interrupted; for the opposing of his will, is to overthrow the institution. On the other side, if the good of the governed be sought, care must be taken that the end be accomplished, though it be with the prejudice of the governor. If the power be originally in the multitude, and one or more men to whom the exercise of it, or a part of it, was committed, had no

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more than their brethren till it was conferred on him or them, it cannot be believed that rational creatures would advance one or a few of their equals above themselves, unless in consideration of their own good; and then I find no inconvenience in leaving to thema right of judging, whether this be duly performed or not. We say in general, "He that institutes, may also abrogate"—"*Cujus est instituere, ejus est abrogare;*" most especially when the institution is not only by but for himself. If the multitude therefore do institute, the multitude may abrogate; and they themselves, or those who succeed in the same right, can only be fit judges of the performance of the ends of the institution. Our author may perhaps say, the public peace may be hereby disturbed; but he ought to know there can be no peace where there is no justice; nor any justice, if the government instituted for the good of a nation be turned to its ruin. But in plain English, the inconvenience with which such as he endeavor to affright us, is no more than that he or they to whom the power is given, may be restrained or chastised, if they betray their trust; which I presume will displease none but such as would rather subject Rome, with the best part of the world depending upon it, to the will of Caligula or Nero, than Caligula and Nero to the judgment of the Senate and people; that is, rather to expose many great and brave nations to be destroyed by the rage of a savage beast, than subject that beast to the judgment of all, or the choicest of them, who can have no interest to pervert them, or other reason to be severe to him, than to prevent the mischief he would commit, and to save the people from ruin.

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In the next place, he recites an argument of Bellarmine, "That it is evident in Scripture God hath ordained powers; but God hath given them to no particular person, because by nature all men are equal, therefore he hath given power to the people or multitude." I leave him to untie that knot if he can; but as it is usual with imposters, he goes about by surmises to elude the force of his argument, pretending that in some other place he had contradicted himself, and acknowledged that every man was prince of his posterity, "because, that if many men had been created together, they ought all to have been princes of their posterity." But it is not necessary to argue upon passages cited from authors, when he that cites them may be justly suspected of fraud, and neither indicates the place nor treatise, lest it should be detected; most especially when we are no ways concerned in the author's credit. I take Bellarmine's first argument to be strong; and if he in some place did contradict it, the hurt is only to himself: but in this particular I should not think he did it, though I were sure our author did faithfully repeat his words, for in allowing every man to be prince of his posterity, he only says, every man should be chief in his own family, and have a power over his children, which no man denies; but he does not understand Latin, who thinks the word *princeps* doth in any degree signify an absolute power or a right of transmitting it to his heirs and successors, upon which the whole doctrine of our author depends. On the contrary, the same law that gave to my father a power over me, gives me the like over my children; and if I had a thousand brothers, each of them would

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have the same over their children. Bellarmine's first argument being, therefore, no way enervated by the alleged passage, I may justly insist upon it, and add, that God hath not only declared in Scripture, but written on the heart of every man, that as it is better to be clothed than to go naked; to live in a house than to lie in the fields; to be defended by the united force of a multitude, than to place the hopes of his security solely in his own strength, and to prefer the benefits of society before a savage and barbarous solitude, he also taught them to frame such societies, and to establish such laws as were necessary to preserve them. And we may as reasonably affirm that mankind is forever obliged to use no other clothes than leather breeches like Adam; to live in hollow trees and eat acorns, or to seek after the model of his house for a habitation, and to use no arms except such as were known to the patriarchs, as to think all nations are forever obliged to be governed as they governed their families. This I take to be the genuine sense of the Scripture, and the most respectful way of interpreting the places relating to our purpose. It is hard to imagine how God, who hath left all things to our choice, that are not evil in themselves, should tie us up in this; and utterly incredible that he should impose upon us a necessity of following his will without declaring it to us. Instead of constituting a government over his people, consisting of many parts, which we take to be a model fit to be imitated by others, he might have declared in a word that the eldest man of the oldest line should be king, and that his will ought to be their law.

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"This had been more suitable to the goodness and mercy of God, than to leave us in a dark labyrinth full of precipices, or rather, to make the government given to his own people a false light to lead us to destruction. This could not be avoided, if there were such a thing as our author calls a "lord, paramount over his children's children, to all generations." We see nothing in Scripture, of precept or example, that is not utterly abhorrent to this chimera. The only sort of kings mentioned there, with approbation, is such a one "as may not raise his heart above his brethren." If God had constituted a lord, paramount with an absolute power, and multitudes of nations were to labor and fight for his greatness and pleasure, this were to raise his heart to a height that would make him forget he was a man. Such as are versed in Scripture, not only know that it neither agrees with the letter nor spirit of that book; but that it is unreasonable in itself, unless he were of a species different from the rest of mankind. His exaltation would not agree with God's indulgence to his creatures, though he were the better for it; much less, when probably he would be made more unhappy and worse, by the pride, luxury and other vices, that always attend the highest fortunes. It is no less incredible, that God, who disposes all things in wisdom and goodness, and appoints a due place for all, should, without distinction, ordain such a power, to every one succeeding in such a line, as cannot be executed; the wise would refuse, and fools cannot take upon them the burden of it, without ruin to themselves and such as are under them; or expose mankind to a multitude of other absurdities and mischiefs; subject-

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ing the aged to be governed by children; the wise to depend on the will of fools; the strong and valiant to expect defence from the weak or cowardly; and all in general to receive justice from him, who neither knows nor cares for it."

Thus thought and thus wrote he who did 'scribere in albo' this heroic sentiment:

Manus hæc inimica tyrannis,
Esse petit placidam *sub libertate* quietem.

A sentiment that might have been engraved with propriety on the sword of Washington.

CHAPTER V.

It is an old saying that "straws tell which way the wind blows," and history shows that most of the wars which have desolated the world, have arisen from petty provocations. Newton's great discovery of the attraction of gravitation was made by the accidental falling of an apple, and Pope felicitously sings:

"That beauty draws us with a single hair."

About the middle of the seventeenth century there appeared in the scientific world mathematical geniuses of the first order, who more for the purpose of amusing their leisure hours, than for any serious or practical object, indulged themselves in ingenious speculations. A certain Chevalier de Mere, who was addicted to gambling, and making curious speculations on games of chance, proposed to the illustrious Pascal two problems, which excited his curiosity, and which he was

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unable to solve. The object of the first was, to know how one could bet with advantage in throwing two dice, with a view to get double sixes. The second was to find a rule to make a just distribution of funds between two players, unequally divided in the points of the game, whenever either party might be pleased to cease playing; and to calculate from any state of the game what would be the reasonable hope of any party to win, in continuing to play. The gist of the problem was to measure the mathematical degree of belief of which simple conjectures were worthy. No one had ever attempted the investigation before, and no precedent would lead one to conclude that analysis could be employed successfully in solving such a question.—There were but a few difficulties with which the powerful intellect of Pascal could not grapple. By a new and original mode of analysis he demonstrated that the exact degree of probability of future events was in certain cases capable of a rigorous appreciation. And that the most fugitive conjectures were as worthy of a certain amount of credit as the natural quantities upon which analysis was usually employed.

The first question was solved with entire exactness, but in the second, although he displayed great ingenuity, the solution was not perfect. A certain magistrate of Thoulouse, named Fermat, to whom Pascal submitted the question, was more fortunate in his attempt. He found a rule for dividing the undecided property of a stake in a game, not only in the particular hypothesis of the question proposed, but in all imaginable hypothesis between an indefinite number of players, and to count from all possible moments which it might suit

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one of the parties to interrupt the game. The correspondence of Pascal was not published during his life, but for the remainder of his days he devoted himself chiefly to religious meditation, and to the composition of his celebrated *Thoughts* and the *Provincial Letters*, in which he blasted the Jesuitical theory of the doctrine of intentions; but soon after, as his biographer states, "he entered into a long and eloquent delirium, when dead to science as to the world, he conceived a great disgust and contempt for mathematics as for all other worldly affairs."

These discoveries attracted no great attention at the time, but not many years after, CHRISTIAN HUYGENS, who was already celebrated as a geometrician, published a little treatise, entitled *De ratiociniis in ludo alœe*, in which the elements of the new theory were expressed with a remarkable originality, and with great sagacity and precision. The fundamental proposition deduced from these labors was, that the probability of any event happening or not happening, might be expressed by the ratio of the number of chances for its happening, (or not happening as the case might be,) to the total number of chances for its happening *and* for its not happening.

In 1671 the Grand Pensionary found, or rather made sufficient leisure to enter into a calculation, to determine the probability of a man, in each year of his life, dying within a prescribed time. With this view, he consulted the registers of the deaths and births of the different towns in Holland, from which he drew the necessary elements for the formation of an extraordinary table of a nature until then unknown, where

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the probability of the life of a man of his country and of his time was at each age mathèmatically estimated, and on the basis of this comparative state of their number of years of life, which still remained to the different members of the society, whose probable partiality he had calculated, he deduced therefrom the actual value of life annuities, constituted upon different ages in such society. He prepared a Report upon the subject, which was submitted to the States-General, and ordered to be printed in the "Resolutions of the States of Holland and West Friesland." The novelty of the treatise attracted some notice, but the famous Liebnitz complained that he could never have an inspection of the original, although he made every effort to do so. It was he who first drew the public attention to the subject. It is entitled to be considered as the first known production of any age, treating in a formal manner on the valuation of life annuities. The careful process by which he arrived at his conclusions, is worthy of notice, aside from the practical importance and peculiar history of the treatise, and the interest attaching to it, from the honored memory of its author.* It has been conjectured that the reason why no publicity was given to De Witt's researches at the time, was owing to the increased rates leading to unpleasant remarks, from financial economists of the day. The capitalists, moreover, were not disposed to enlighten the government upon the subject, as it was not their interest to do so. It remained for a future age to make the whole theory of life annuities a subject of minute

* See "Hendrik's Contributions."

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investigation, and to reduce it to practical purposes. It must be admitted, however, that De Witt was justly entitled to the credit of having been the author of the system. The science which appeared with so little outward eclat, was destined for a time to be eclipsed by the dazzling glories of other inventions. The discoveries of Newton and Halley in the science of astronomy, threw all other kinds of scientific knowledge into a temporary shade.

There was another distinguished mathematician by the name of Bernouilli, who wrote a treatise, entitled *Ars conjectandi*, which, however, he did not live to finish. If we consider the time at which it was composed, the originality, the extent and depth of thought which are displayed in the composition of this treatise, it will hold the first rank among the extraordinary mathematical productions of the age in which he lived. It was his aim to expose the whole philosophy of the calculation of probabilities, to deduce the reasons for which, according to his idea, probability could be expressly considered as a number, which doctrine he said could be employed in civil and moral, as well as in political affairs. He considered knowledge as a quantity, certainly as an entire quantity, and probability as one of its fractions. This fraction is susceptible like ordinary numerical fractions, of becoming infinitely great or infinitely small. Infinitely great, it is confounded with entire quantity or certainty; infinitely small, it vanishes into nothing, and is no more than the mathematical expression of impossibility. Its different values between this double infinite, expresses all the imaginable states of knowledge, from the highest to

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the lowest degree of probability. They are all relative to entire quantity or certainty, which is considered as a unit. This idea of designating quantity as a unit, and the different degrees of probability as fractional parts, was esteemed at the time as sound logic, if not, indeed, a mathematical necessity.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Malebranche and De Montmort undertook to compose a general analysis of games of chance, which obtained some applause, but were destined to be obscured by the extraordinary geniuses who foreshadowed the dawn of the French Revolution.* The great discoveries which were made by Euler, Laplace, D'Alembert and Condorcet, engaged the minds of all the scientific men in Europe. Honorable mention should also be made of Buffon, who wrote a treatise of moral arithmetic, in which he demonstrated with great eloquence, that in all games of chance in which money was the object, the chance of winning was infinitely small, in proportion to the chance of losing. That the contract was vicious in its essence, alike injurious to the player and to the good of society. He was the first who attempted to show, that in all lotteries, the banker was a cheat, and the speculator must necessarily become a victim. Condorcet, who was the boldest and most adventurous of all these theorists, smitten with the prevailing idea that the human species were capable of indefinite perfectibility, undertook to apply the rules of algebra, to demonstrate the time in which it was pro-

* See Gouraud's "Calcul des Probabilités."

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bable he would arrive at a state of perfection; but his melancholy suicide, not long after, put an end to his ingenious speculations.

He left among his papers a scheme in which he represented human societies as great geometrical constructions, where all operated as in nature in conformity with certain and fixed laws, to which the free will of each individual, after more or less variation, always ended by obeying. In following this idea, he imagined that it was no more impossible to determine the probability of future events by the observation of passed events in the world of liberty, than in that of destiny. He projected a new science, to which he gave the name of *Social Mathematics*, where the geometrician proposed to calculate the future revelations of human society as he calculated the periodical returns of eclipses and comets. But his ardent and philanthropic genius did not permit him to rest in mere general abstractions. His great object was to develop the resources of human improvement. For if he did not believe in the absolute perfectibility of man, he indulged an enthusiastic hope that a vast field might be opened for the amelioration of his social condition. With this view, he composed a treatise on the application of analysis to the probability of decisions rendered by a majority of votes. He divided all the decisions made by human assemblies into two great classes. In the first class he places those decisions which he regarded as valid. In the second class he places those decisions which are considered just in the opinion of the minority, only when it made in their favor. He considers four points essential in relation to the pro-

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bability of all kinds of decisions: the probability that an assembly will not make a false decision, that it will make a true decision, that it will make a decision either true or false, and finally, the probability that the decision made by the majority will remain certain and fixed. He undertakes to show that, according to these principles, a geometrician can with great exactness determine the probability of the justness of decisions, either in civil or criminal matters, the comparative excellence of the different forms of election, as well as the various modes by which balloting should be conducted. He prophesied that the day was not far distant when statistics would exhibit a collection of facts to render legislation, jurisprudence and commerce a proper subject of this method of analysis. The ardent fire of enthusiasm which glowed beneath these endless series of equations and formulas, induced his friend, D'Alembert, to compare him to a "volcano covered with snow." Condorcet says, that he considered De Witt to be the first mathematician who thought of applying calculation to political equations, and that he had very superior ideas to those of his age upon the true interests of nations and upon the freedom of trade.

NOTE.—Whether the illustrious South Carolina statesman can be compared to "cast iron" or a "volcano," we will not undertake to determine, but he seems to have entirely coincided with Condorcet:

"If, by metaphysics, is meant that scholastic refinement which makes distinctions without difference, no one can hold it in more utter contempt than I do; but if, on the contrary, is meant the power of analysis and combination—that power which reduces the most complex idea into its elements, which traces causes to their first principle, and by the power of generalization and combination unites the whole into

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CHAPTER VI.

To THOSE who may be curious to know what were De Witt's sentiments with regard to that relation upon which the happiness of society so much depends, an extract from a letter to his brother on the subject of the marriage of his daughter, will be highly approved by heads of families who appreciate merit more than money. But, alas! for the degenerate days in which we live—"*virtus post nummos*" seems to be the golden rule, and matrimony is, after all, but a matter of money. The letter runs thus: "In the first place, this person has no occupation, so that I must consider him a good-for-nothing fellow. I have always had a great aver-

one harmonious system—then, so far from deserving contempt, it is the highest attribute of the human mind. It raises man above the brute, which distinguishes his faculties from mere sagacity which he holds in common with inferior animals. It is this power which has raised the astronomer from being a mere gazer at the stars to the high intellectual eminence of a Newton or a Laplace, and astronomy itself from a mere observation of insulated facts into that noble science which displays to our admiration the system of the universe. And shall this high power of the mind which has effected such wonders when directed to the laws which control the material world, be forever prohibited under a senseless cry of metaphysics, from being applied to the high purpose of political science and legislation? I hold them to be subject to laws as fixed as matter itself, and to be as fit a subject for the highest intellectual power. Denunciation may, indeed, fall upon the philosophical inquirer into those first principles, as it did upon Galileo and Bacon, when they first unfolded the great discoveries which have immortalized their names; but the time will come when truth will prevail in spite of prejudice and denunciation, and when politics and legislation will be considered as much a science as astronomy and chemistry."—J. C. CALHOUN.

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sion for this sort of people, having known many instances where as soon as they were married, they did not know how to employ their leisure hours, and consequently became addicted to bad company.

"In the second place, although this young man may be of good habits and pleasing address, and may desire to better his condition by desiring to form an alliance with my family, I do not think that he can aspire to any honorable employment in Holland, for I have been exposed myself to so much hatred and envy, that my influence would avail him nothing.

"In the third place, I have always considered that the greatest happiness in this life was to be enjoyed in a union contracted with a person of an agreeable and conciliating temper. All the wealth of the universe cannot in my opinion compensate for the disgust which a peevish temper occasions not only to those who are united in the marriage state, but also to the whole family in which such an unsociable humor has been introduced. I do not precisely know what kind of temper the young man has, but I have learned this lesson from my parents, that in the affair of marriage, we should never unite our children when the temper of one of the parents is disagreeable. I have known the father of the young man, and have had some slight acquaintance with the mother, but both of them had such a temper, that even if the son were more amiable than either, I would rather see my daughter carried to the grave than that she should form a connection with such a man."

He maintained an extensive correspondence with his female acquaintance, and especially with one of

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his nieces, to whom he was in the habit of propounding queries at the conclusion of his letters. We find the following:—

"Three hundred and thirty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-seven persons were employed in building the tower of Babel. They worked at it for two years, seven months, and three days, when they were prevented by the confusion of tongues. The height of the tower was then two miles, or three thousand two hundred rods. How long would it require thirty thousand persons to be employed in constant labor to raise such a tower to the same height?"

A ludicrous anecdote is related of him, that while taking a promenade to refresh himself after the severe labors of the day, he met in one of the narrow streets of the Hague, Don Gomara, the Spanish Ambassador, who was in a coach drawn by four horses, and Mr. De Thou, the French Ambassador, who was in a coach and six. The coaches having met, neither one nor the other would retreat or advance one step. The coachmen, who are generally very punctilious in matters of etiquette, threatened to use their whips, and their suite, who were armed with swords, were about to draw them, when the populace, who were attracted to the scene, bellowed out, that if the French dared to draw their swords or pistols, *their jawbones would not want a supply of stones and brickbats.* De Witt perceiving that they were about to put their threat into execution, intervened, and pushing his way through the crowd, he exhorted them to disperse, upon which the coaches passed to the right and left, and so the affair ended.

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As an instance of his urbanity, when a clergyman ventured to reprove him vehemently from the pulpit for opposing the elevation of the young prince to the Stadholderate, instead of dismissing him from his charge, he requested him to repair to his residence, where, after he had admonished him to keep within the line of his duties, he invited him to dinner.

On another occasion, when one of his clerks abstracted a letter from his office, and revealed certain matters which it was important to keep secret, instead of delivering him into the hands of justice to be severely punished, he mildly reprimanded him, and bade him "go sin no more."

CHAPTER VII.

But De Witt's days were numbered. The insurrections and disturbances, to which we have alluded in a previous chapter, extended into Rotterdam, Leyden, Delft, Harlaem, and other cities, where many of the residences of the magistrates were pillaged. As the province of Zealand had declared the prince Stadholder on the second of July, the States of Holland having assembled on the day following for the purpose of abrogating the perpetual edict, unanimously resolved, that "In consideration of the troubled state of affairs, the members agree to absolve each other from their oath, as well as those who had sworn to preserve the perpetual edict, remitting all into the same liberty they enjoyed before, to elect a Stadholder as they may see

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fit for the greatest good and advantage of the republic." They then deputed several of their members to repair to Bodegrave, where the prince was encamped, to inform him of his election. He returned his thanks and went to the Hague to take the oath of office, as he had previously done at an assembly of the States-General. Meanwhile, scandalous falsehoods had been circulated, tending to impeach the integrity and honor of the Grand Pensionary, by charging him with converting to his private use the secret service money which had been entrusted to his hands to enable him to baffle the intrigues of the enemy. But whatever credit his enemies might have attached to these rumors, the sagacious prince, who knew him to be incorruptible by such sordid considerations, charged the whole blame upon his own officers, who betrayed the chief towns on the frontiers into the hands of the French. He did not neglect to employ his address in endeavoring to engage the friendship of De Witt, and to solicit him to lend his aid in this eventful crisis. In this interview, De Witt is said to have replied, with his usual candor and decision, that his principles were fixed after the most mature reflections; that he had resolved never to renounce those rules which he had deemed just and equitable, and by which he had been always governed in the discharge of his public duties; and that he could not then do, from considerations of interest, what was directly opposed to his own settled convictions of duty; that the people now hated him without cause, and, therefore, would never forgive him; that while he prayed for the prosperity of the State under whatever form of government the people

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may see fit to establish, he would not retain an office which he could only hold by betraying the confidence which the States-General had always reposed in him. He, therefore, respectfully declined the honor of serving the State under the Stadholderate, an office which he considered as anti-republican in its tendencies, and calculated to be subversive of the public liberty.

On the 3d of May, the King of France, with an army of twenty thousand men arrived at Charleroi, which he divided into four bodies, one commanded by himself in person, and the others by the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Orleans, and Marshal Turenne. He opened the siege of several of their principal cities by a simultaneous movement, which created such terror among the inhabitants of the provinces that, by the advice of the Grand Pensionary, the States-General deputed four of their members to repair to the king, and request him to state on what terms, and for what amount of money, he would be willing to evacuate the Dutch territory; but the demands of the magnificent king were so exorbitant that the deputies returned without having accomplished anything. The young Stadholder never forgot or forgave this humiliating exaction, and hurled back with stern contempt the audacious pretensions of his haughty oppressor. The disasters which had befallen the nation created bitter animosity towards the illustrious brothers, who were soon to atone for the misfortunes of the country by a cruel death. While the Grand Pensionary was returning home at night from an assembly of the States-General, he was attacked by four men with drawn swords, one of whom gave him a thrust in the

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neck, which felled him to the ground. After struggling with his adversary, he received a severe blow on the head, and was left for dead. But by the aid of skilful surgeons he was soon after enabled to attend to his usual duties. Some of the populace at Dort were stirred up to declare that it was necessary that the perpetual edict should be rescinded to prevent the utter ruin of the State, and were bent on deposing all the magistrates who insisted on maintaining it. They ran like madmen through the streets, exclaiming, "Long live the prince, and may the devil take the De Witts." Others hoisted orange-colored and white flags on the cupola of the Stadhouse, on which were painted this significant Dutch couplet:—

> Orange boven, De Witt onder,
> Die tanders maund die slaet den donder:

which may be thus inelegantly translated—

> The Prince of Orange above, the De Witts under,
> And those who resist will see thunder.

As a natural consequence of these disasters, the government funds could not be sold at a discount of seventy per cent., and the obligations of the East India Company, which were worth a thousand florins, could be purchased for two hundred and fifty. The archives of the city were carried in haste to Amsterdam, and many tons of silver were deposited in the vaults of the famous bank of that city. The Hague being exposed to the attack of the enemy, they were compelled to remove the seat of government to the great commercial emporium.

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Having determined to withdraw himself from public affairs, De Witt tendered his resignation to the States-General in the following address:—

"HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: Nineteen years have elapsed since I had the honor to serve in your assembly in the capacity of Grand Pensionary of Holland and West Friesland. During that time the State has been disturbed by wars and other calamities which, by God's help and the courage and wisdom of your lordships, I had good reason to hope would have been happily terminated. Your lordships well know with what zeal and labor I have endeavored for several years to remove the occasions of discontent and dissensions which we have now with the powerful enemies of the State. You are not ignorant, my lords, how often I have taken the liberty to represent to you the misfortunes that may befall us in the course of time, if we do not promptly apply the necessary remedies to the evils with which we are menaced. But God, whose providence we ought always humbly to adore, however incomprehensible it may be, has permitted a ruinous and fatal war to rage, although the State in general and the province of Holland in particular have sufficient time to prepare and provide whatever may be necessary for a vigorous defence. With what application and urgent solicitation I have exhorted your lordships to be vigilant in protecting yourselves against the devices of the enemy, this assembly can bear abundant testimony. Our allies in this assembly have moved with as much promptness and diligence as possible in a body composed of so many members and of such a constitution, that it is rather influenced by the prospect of a

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present and pressing necessity than by exhortations to avoid those perils which they could not foresee. But notwithstanding all their cares and all their efforts to avert the evil, it has pleased God in his anger to inflict upon this State those calamities in which it is now enveloped, and that in a manner so difficult to comprehend, that posterity will scarcely believe it, so rapid are the conquests of the enemy, and so weak the resistance on the part of our army. What is most mortifying in this melancholy conjuncture is, that these disasters have excited in the minds of the people not only a general panic, but also sinister impressions against their magistrates, and especially against those who have in any way had the management of public affairs. Atrocious calumnies have been circulated against me. Base libels, accusing me of converting the secret service money to my own purposes, have been brought against me. I have always thought that the most effectual way of destroying these calumnies was to treat them with contempt. However unjust and unfounded these suspicions have been, as I am but an humble servant of the State, having no other object but to promote its welfare and prosperity, I have deemed it my duty no longer to retain an office which would require me to compromise my own self-respect, and, perhaps, would be prejudicial to the interests of the country.

"For these reasons I have only to request that your lordships will do me the favor to dispense with my services as Grand Pensionary. I must conclude by expressing my profound obligations to this august assembly for the many testimonials of their confidence and friendship which I have so often received at their hands,

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and I trust I will always continue to be your faithful friend, as I have always been your very faithful and humble servant."

The States-General having taken the subject into serious consideration, concluded to accept his resignation, and testified their acknowledgment of the great services which he had rendered to the State in a resolution which honorably discharged him from his high and painful responsibilities. On the day following he notified his friend De Ruyter of his dismission in the following letter:

"Sir: The taking of the cities on the Rhine in so short a time, the ravages of the enemy to the very borders of the Ysel, and the total loss of the provinces of Guilders, of Utrecht, and Overyssel, almost without resistance and by an unheard of treachery, have more than ever confirmed me in the truth of that saying which was formerly applied to the Roman republic: "*Prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur:*" "All take the credit to themselves when things are prosperous, but when they are adverse they lay the blame upon one." It is what I have experienced myself. The people of Holland have not only charged me with all the calamities and disasters that have befallen this Republic, not content with seeing me fall into the hands of armed assassins who intended to murder me, but when by the help of divine Providence I have escaped from their hands and been cured of the wounds that I had received, they have conceived a mortal hatred against those magistrates whom they believed to have the greatest influence in the management of affairs, and especially against me, who have been but an

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humble servant of the State. Their lordships have done me the kindness to grant my discharge, as you will see by the resolution which I enclose."

But the wrath of the populace was stirred up to such a pitch of frenzy that it could not be appeased, nor could their sanguinary vengeance be satiated by shedding the blood of one innocent victim. Cornelius, the brother of the Grand Pensionary, was charged, by a perjured scoundrel named Tichelaer, who followed the trade of a barber, with suborning him to assassinate the Prince of Orange. This abominable falsehood was conveyed by General Zulestein to his Highness, who ordered Tichelaer to detail the facts to him. The wretch told his story with such an air of veracity that an order was issued to arrest Cornelius at Dort, where illness had confined him to his bed, and to incarcerate him in the State's Prison at the Hague. To this falsehood was added a tissue of base lies, accusing him of shirking the renewal of a battle with the French fleet, and of actually engaging in a disgraceful fisticuff with De Ruyter, who remonstrated with him for showing the white feather by hiding himself behind a coil of cables.

The magnanimous admiral who narrowly escaped assassination, at the instance of John De Witt addressed the following letter to the States-General from his ship, which was lying at anchor near Goree:

"High and mighty lords: I have learned with extreme surprise that it has been rumored that the Deputy Commissary and myself had quarrelled and had come to blows, and that I had wounded him in the arm. Further, that he did not wish to fight the enemies of

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the State, and especially the French, and that he prevented a renewal of the engagement on the second day, and many other things of this sort, have been imputed to him. I hold myself obliged, for my own honor, and for the defence of truth and justice, to declare to your lordships, in the sincerity of my heart, and to testify, as I do now, that the Ruard of Putten, (Cornelius De Witt,) in his capacity of Deputy Commissary of the fleet, has lived with me on terms of cordial friendship, and that there has never been any misunderstanding or dispute, or any difference whatever, between us. I solemnly believe these rumors to be false and malicious calumnies. I feel myself also conscientiously bound to bear testimony that the Ruard always exhibited a marked zeal to engage with the enemy, and that he manifested as great an animosity towards the French as the English. This was clearly proved by the fact that when he proposed to a council of war to attack the enemy, it was carried by a unanimous resolution."

The Ruard made an elaborate defence, and proved, by unimpeachable witnesses, that he was entirely innocent of the heinous crime of which he had been accused by a man who had been condemned to perpetual infamy, and who was compelled, in open court, to fall upon his knees and beg pardon of God and justice; that there was no other witness against him, and that the circumstantial evidence against him was totally devoid of all truth and probability. But the court, which seems to have been affected with the popular contagion, and smitten with judicial blindness, convicted the prisoner, and sentenced him to the terrible torture of the thumb-screw, in order to force him to con-

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fess his guilt. But he replied that if they would rend him in pieces he would never acknowledge himself to be guilty of a crime of which he had never conceived. While undergoing the dreadful torture he repeated those lofty lines of Horace, which fortified his soul in this fiery crisis:

> **Justum et tenacem propositi virum,**
> **Non civium ardor prava jubentium,**
> **Non vultus instantis tyranni,**
> **Mente quatit solida, &c.**
>
> **The man of firm and noble soul**
> **No factious clamors can control,**
> **No threatening tyrant's darkling brow**
> **Can swerve him from his just intent.**

It would be impossible, at this day, for the impartial historian entirely to acquit the Prince of Orange, the *vultus instantis tyranni*, of influencing the court to punish an individual whom he considered his hereditary enemy. His subsequent career of glory, and the great and memorable service which he afterwards rendered to the establishment of the Protestant religion, by expelling the last of the reigning tyrants of the house of Stuart, would incline us to believe that although he exercised no undue influence in instigating the judges in making so unjust and unlawful a decision, there is good cause to suspect that it was not done without his knowledge. It is very certain that he made no efforts to prevent it, and that he afterwards bestowed pensions and offices upon the murderers of the two brothers, not many days after. The *ardor prava civium jubentium* was at that crisis so ungovernable that

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no earthly power could have checked it but the direct personal interposition of the illustrious prince, whom they considered their last hope and their only saviour. The desolation of the most lovely portions of Holland by the powerful enemies of the State, treachery under every disguise, misery and starvation staring them in the face, it will not excite surprise that in a moment of panic or terror, and madness, these black crimes should have been committed. The finger of the "taciturn" prince, whose counsels saved the country from destruction by the mercenary fanatics under the wolfish dukes of Alva and Parma, seemed to point to the young prince, who had inherited his valor and his patriotism.

"That great man," says Macaulay, "rose at once to the full dignity of his part, and approved himself a worthy descendant of a line of heroes who had vindicated the liberties of Europe against the house of Austria. Nothing could shake his fidelity to his country, not his close connexion with the royal family of England, not the most earnest solicitations, nor the most tempting offers. The spirit of the nation, that spirit which had maintained the great conflict against the gigantic power of Philip revived in all their strength. Counsels, such as are inspired by a generous despair, and are almost always followed by a speedy dawn of hope, were gravely concerted by the statesmen of Holland. To open their dykes, to man their ships, to leave their country with all its miracles of art and industry, its cities, its canals, its villas, its pastures, and its tulip gardens, buried under the waves of the German Ocean; to bear to a distant climate their Calvinistic faith and their old Batavian liberties, to fix, perhaps,

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with happier auspices, the new Stadhouse of their commonwealth under other stars and under a strange vegetation in the Spice islands of the eastern seas. Such were the plans which they had the spirit to form, and it is seldom that men who have the spirit to form such plans are reduced to the necessity of executing them."

The Ruard was sentenced to be discharged from all his offices and dignities, and to be forever banished from his country. The last act of the tragedy was now to be performed. The populace were disappointed that the court did not sentence him to be executed, and were determined to glut their savage vengeance by a bloody massacre. They gathered round the prison where he was remanded, and stationed sentinels near the doors in order to prevent his escape. They then sent a messenger to the residence of the Grand Pensionary, with a request that he would hasten to the prison to see his brother, who, they said, urgently solicited his presence. His children, who suspected that foul play was intended, entreated him with tears to remain. But his fraternal affection overcame all considerations of prudence, and he resolved to go. No sooner had he entered his brother's chamber than he detected in his countenance that their doom was sealed. The victims were at last in the power of their deadly enemies. They drew the Ruard from his sick bed and hurled him backwards to the bottom of a flight of steps which led to the outer door of the prison. John De Witt was struck down with the butt-end of a musket, and they were both taken to a lamp-post where they were suspended and butchered in a manner so

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shocking and disgusting that it is impossible to read the details of it without having the blood to curdle in the veins. The hearts of those noble brothers were torn from their bodies and dashed against their faces with fiendish imprecations. Under the chancel of the old Protestant church, at the Hague, their bodies rest in hope, awaiting the resurrection of the just, but their memory will be embalmed in the hearts of the virtuous and the brave, so long as virtue and valor are honored among men:

THE EPITAPH.

"HERE LIE
THE REMAINS OF A MAN OF UNIVERSAL GENIUS,
THE PROFOUNDEST STATESMAN
AND THE MOST ADROIT DIPLOMATIST OF HIS AGE,
IN WAR AS WELL AS IN PEACE;
THE PROP OF THE REPUBLIC OF WHICH EVEN HIS ENEMIES REGARDED HIM
AS THE SUREST ORACLE.
HE WAS LABORIOUS, INDEFATIGABLE,
VIGILANT, SOBER, AND MODEST;
ALWAYS SERIOUS, BUT EASY, AFFABLE AND AGREEABLE,
AS DISINTERESTED AS A MAN COULD BE,
PROPOSING TO HIMSELF NO OTHER OBJECT BUT THE GOOD OF HIS
COUNTRY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HER LIBERTIES.
ALTHOUGH HE WAS CIVIL TO ALL MEN,
HE NEVER COURTED THE APPLAUSE OF THE PEOPLE
BY EMPLOYING THE BASE ARTS OF A DEMAGOGUE.
ALWAYS EQUAL TO HIMSELF,
AND UNDISTURBED IN THE MIDST OF THE GREATEST CALAMITIES,
HIS MIND NEVER LOST ITS EQUANIMITY, AND TO THE LAST SIGH OF
HIS LIFE
HE EXHIBITED, BY HEROIC FORTITUDE,
A MEMORABLE EXAMPLE OF WHAT A MAN IS CAPABLE
WHOSE CONSCIENCE REPROACHES HIM NOTHING."

Could more be said of him whose ashes repose beneath the shades of Mount Vernon?

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CONCLUSION.

"None but the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust."

In order to disabuse the public mind of unfounded suspicions with regard to the illustrious martyr whose life we have briefly sketched, the States-General assembled and deputed several persons of distinction to repair to his residence and to examine and seal all of his papers, which were deposited and now remain in the State Archives at the Hague. It is scarcely necessary to add that nothing was discovered which tended in the slightest degree to impeach his integrity or his honor. It is said that he preserved such exact order in the arrangement of his official papers, that, like Cardinal Mazarin, he could at any hour of the night lay his hand upon any document he desired with unerring accuracy. Although his administration was unfortunate at its close, he was universally esteemed one of the most enlightened statesmen in Europe, and his fame has continued to grow brighter and brighter as the clouds and tempests in which he was enveloped have been dispersed, and we are enabled to form a more just estimate of his character. Mr. Fox has truly described him as the wisest, the best, and most patriotic minister that ever appeared upon the stage.

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So incomprehensible are the ways of Providence, and so often do we see good deduced from the evil which at the time we are constrained to deplore! No sooner was the beardless prince elevated to the Stadholderate and took command of the army, than the hearts of all were disburdened of the perilous stuff which had well nigh sunk them into despair. The struggle which the Republic then maintained against the combined forces of France and England constitutes its heroic age, much more so, indeed, than the eighty years' war, so renowned in history, which it conducted with such indomitable perseverance against the forces under Alva and Parma. In a few weeks a powerful army was raised, which effected a complete evacuation of the territories, while it required years to shake off the Spanish yoke. It is worthy of remark, that the most glorious epochs in the history of almost all nations are not so often the effect of enthusiasm among the masses, as the work of men, sometimes of an individual, who, by superior energy and genius, understands the great art of arousing the public mind to conquer or die in defence of their country.

The insatiable thirst of conquest which influenced the French monarch to effect the ruin of the Dutch Republic, has been justly condemned by all historians who have any regard for truth and justice. There was not even any decent pretext for such an attempt. But the English sovereign whom he attracted to his alliance was a stranger alike to the sentiments of decency or honor. As we have before intimated, at the time that the young prince took command, the victorious armies of Louis had effected the fall of some

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of the strongest fortifications on the frontiers of Holland, after wading through rivers which were thought to be impassable by a foreign enemy. The French army was more powerful in numbers and the accomplishments of its generals, while the real advantage of the Dutch consisted in the nature of the soil and the ardent spirit of patriotism and sacred fire of liberty which animated the heart of the whole nation. A William at the head of her armies, and a De Ruyter in command of her fleet, were sufficient to repel the invaders and drive them back discomfited.

The Dutch temper is proverbially phlegmatic, and their military enthusiasm is not easily aroused; but let it be made apparent to them that the country demands the unanimity of all hearts, and the ardor of their devotion will prompt them to make any sacrifice. They will patiently support the heaviest burdens and affront the greatest hardships and dangers with the most indomitable perseverance. Scarcely had the nation felt the vigorous hand of the Stadholder than it shook off its natural torpor. A powerful enthusiasm was inspired by the *Patriæ pater* who personified the country, and who had sacrificed his own personal interests by indignantly refusing the seducing offers of the French monarch. Like Lord Brooke, addressing his raw reinforcements from old Warwick castle, he told them, "That if the nobility of the cause was not sufficient to animate the most stolid, he knew not what could make mortal men put on undaunted resolutions." Although he made no pretensions to the graces of oratory, yet, when occasions called it forth, he showed himself a perfect master of that sort of eloquence which

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convinces the head and goes direct to the heart and conscience of a nation. His letter to De Ruyter, on the 23d of May, 1673, is a model of Dutch military eloquence. While he regretted that pressing cares and responsibilities prevented him from visiting the fleet in person, he wrote to De Ruyter, "that the hearts and eyes of all Netherlanders and all Christendom were turned towards him and his gallant fleet, and that it would be the last degree of infamy for them to fail to discharge their duty on so illustrious a theatre. He devoutly hoped that God would bestow sufficient firmness and wisdom on him to add a new lustre to the maritime glory of his country. So that the day would soon arrive when they would rejoice that they were made the instruments in the hands of Providence to conduct so sacred a cause to a happy termination. He would conclude by promising that he would reward each one according to his works:—Honor and glory to the brave, shame and chastisement to the cowardly. He would desire him to instil into the minds of all that no pardon would be granted to those who could conduct themselves otherwise than brave soldiers and seamen, and that the iron hand of justice as well as the imprecations of all his compatriots would inevitably fall upon the heads of all who failed to do their whole duty to their country."

Michael Adrian De Ruyter, one of the most renowned captains in the naval history of the world, was born at Flessingen, in the Province of Zealand, in the year of our Lord 1607. His father, who was a plain and honest farmer, in his eleventh year procured for his son a place as a cabin-boy. From this humble

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position he ran through the degrees of scullion, chief cook, pilot, captain, commander, vice-admiral, and finally attained the highest naval dignity. Endowed by nature with a vigorous understanding and a bold heart, it was long before his genius blazed forth in meridian splendor. In the 70th year of his age, in the month of April, 1676, he died covered with laurels near the coast of Palermo, in Sicily, in an engagement with the French. He suffered the most excruciating pains, which he endured with admirable fortitude, repeating to himself the Psalms of David, which he knew by heart. His body was embalmed and conveyed to Amsterdam, where he was buried with great pomp in the chancel of the New Protestant Church, over which may be seen to this day the words, *Tremor immensi oceani*, engraved in capital gold letters. A marble statue represents him with his head reclining on a pillow of cannon balls, his hands reposing on his heart, and a serene smile of resignation on his majestic face, as if he were peacefully awaiting the sound of the last trump.

"He lays like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him."

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DE WITT'S

Treatise on Life Annuities,

IN A SERIES OF

LETTERS TO THE STATES-GENERAL.

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DE WITT'S

Treatise on Life Annuities,

IN A SERIES OF

LETTERS TO THE STATES-GENERAL.*

"NOBLE AND MIGHTY LORDS:

"IN so extensive an administration as that of the united country of Holland and West Friesland, it is better, as I have several times stated to your Lordships, for several reasons perfectly well known to you, to negotiate funds by life annuities, which from their nature are infallibly terminable, than to obtain them at interest, which is perpetual, or by redeemable annuities; and that it is likewise more useful for private families, who understand economy well, and know how to make a good employment of their surplus in augmenting their capital, to improve their money by life

* The title of the Treatise in the original (now in the State Archives at the Hague) is "*Waardye van Lyf-renten naer proportie van Losrenten*," which Mr. Hendriks has translated into English. E. G. B.

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annuities, than to invest it in redeemable annuities or, at interest at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum; because the above-mentioned life annuities, which are sold even at the present time at 14 years' purchase, pay, in fact, much more in proportion than redeemable annuities at 25 years' purchase. I have consequently respectfully to submit to your Lordships the unchallengeable proof of my assertion, and at the same time to respond to the wish manifested by the members of this body to have such proof in writing. That proof, founded on a solid basis, is proposed to your High Mightinesses in the following manner:—

"*Value of Life Annuities in Proportion to Redeemable Annuities.*

"I lay down the following presupposition, in order to determine the proportion of a life annuity to a redeemable annuity. For example, in presupposing that the redeemable annuity is and will be current at 25 years' purchase, or at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, we must find at how many years' purchase the life annuity should be sold, to be in proportion to the aforesaid redeemable annuity, in such manner that the life annuity may, if not with mathematical precision, at least in its discovered value, be more advantageous to the purchaser than an annuity redeemable with the same capital.

"First Presupposition.

"I presuppose that the real value of certain expectations or chances of objects, of different value, must be estimated by that which we can obtain from equal ex-

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pectations or chances, dependent on one or several equal contracts. Let us take, for example, a small matter, and under circumstances intelligible at first sight:—A person has 2 different expectations or chances, which may easily lead, the one to nothing, the other to 20 stuyvers. If, by one or several equal contracts, he can obtain for 10 stuyvers 2 like expectations or chances, we must estimate that the 2 aforesaid chances are worth to him exactly 10 stuyvers, because he can really obtain for 10 stuyvers these 2 expectations or chances, by making an agreement with another person that each of them should stake 10 stuyvers, and then gamble or draw lots, by *odd or even, head or tail, blank or prize*, or in some such way, to determine which of the two should have the 20 stuyvers; thus by the said contract, equal in every regard, he evidently finds himself in the position of having in reality the 2 expectations or chances, the one of nothing, the other of 20 stuyvers.

"Second Presupposition.

"That in taking at pleasure some years of a man's life, limited to the time when he is in his full vigour, and neither too young, nor too advanced in age; (this space of time shall be here 50 years, namely, from the third or fourth year of his age, up to the fifty-third or fifty-fourth year;) it is not more likely that this man should die in the first half-year of a given year, than in the second half: similarly, it is not more likely that he should die in the second half-year of the aforesaid year than in the first half. But although it depends

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entirely on chance whether this man, after having lived to the given year, and dying in the course of that year, should demise in its first or in its second half, one finds nevertheless in this regard an equality of likelihood or chance similar to the case of a tossed penny, where there is an absolute equality of likelihood or chance that it will fall *head* or *tail*, although it depends entirely upon chance as to the side on which it shall turn, and this to so high a degree that the penny may fall *head* 10, 20, or more times following, without once falling *tail*; and *vice versâ*.

"THIRD PRESUPPOSITION.

"That a man having passed the aforesaid vigorous time of his life, namely the fifty-third or fifty-fourth year of his age, it begins to be more likely that he should die in a given year or half-year of the second period than has previously been the case; or that it is not likely, with respect to another man of like constitution or state of body, that the latter should die in less than a year or half-year of the said vigorous time of his life; whilst this likelihood or chance of dying in a given year or half-year of the 10 first following years, namely, from 53 to 63 years of his age, taken inclusively, does not exceed more than in the proportion of 3 to 2 the likelihood or chance of dying in a given year or half-year during the aforesaid vigorous period of life: so that, taking for example two persons of equal constitution, one aged 40 years, and the other 58 years, if these two persons made such a contract, that in case the person of 58 years should happen to

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die in less than six months, the one aged 40 were to inherit a sum of 2,000 florins from the property of the defunct; but that if, on the other hand, the person aged 40 years should die in less than six months, the one aged 58 years were to have 3,000 florins from the property of the deceased; such a contract cannot be considered disadvantageous for the person who would have the 3,000 florins, if the event were favourable to him, and who, in the contrary event, would only lose 2,000 florins.

"I then presuppose that the greatest likelihood of dying in a given year or half-year of the second series of the ten following years (that is, from 63 years to 73, taken one with the other, rather than in a given year or half-year of the period of the vigour of life) cannot be estimated at more than double, or as 2 is to 1; and as the triple, or as 3 is to 1, during the 7 following years, that is, from 73 years to 80.

"Finally, in supposing that life necessarily ends at the twenty-seventh year after the expiration of 50 years of age above presupposed, this time is neither assumed at too high nor too low a standard, as experience manifestly teaches us that the life of some men exceeds by a considerable period the age of 80 years, the age of 81 years, and even more.

"These three articles being presupposed, we have, by a demonstrative calculation, mathematically discovered and proved that the redeemable annuity being fixed at 25 years' purchase, as above, the life annuity should be sold at 16 years' purchase, and even higher, to be in equality, one with the other; so that in the purchase of 1 florin of life annuity, on a young and

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vigorous nominee, more than 16 florins should be paid, as is proved by the following demonstration:—

"FIRST PROPOSITION.

"The value of several equal expectations or chances, a certain sum of money or other objects of value pertaining to each chance, is found to be exactly determinable by adding the money or other objects of value represented by the chances, and by then dividing the sum of this addition by the number of chances: the quotient or result indicates with precision the value of all these chances.

"To give greater clearness to the demonstration, let a person named John have, for example, 3 equal expectations or chances,—one of a certain pearl, or of 2,000 florins; the second of a certain ruby, or of 3,000 florins; and the third of a certain diamond, or of 4,000 florins; as beneath.

Chances.		
1 pearl,	or 2000	florins.
1 ruby,	or 3000	"
1 diamond,	or 4000	"
3	3)9000	"
	3000	florins.

I say that the 3 above-mentioned expectations or chances are together worth to him precisely the third of the above-named jewels taken together, or 3000 florins, resulting from the 3 above-mentioned objects or sums of money, first added up, and then divided by 3, which is the number of chances.

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"DEMONSTRATION.

"In the first place, let John have purchased, in community with two other persons, namely, Peter and Paul, and let each of the two have paid one-third of the value of the 3 jewels before mentioned; or rather that John with Peter and Paul have made common purse, by each contributing 3,000 florins, which has evidently been an equal contract.

"In the second place, let John have agreed to cease his communityship with his two partners, or for other reasons to draw lots by three tickets, namely, two tickets *blank*, and one ticket *prize*, for the 3 above-named jewels, or the aforesaid common purse of 9,000 florins of capital, so that each of them may draw one of the aforesaid tickets, and that fortune may thus point out to which of them she assigns the above-named jewels or whole purse; which is again evidently an equal contract.

"In the third place, let John have agreed with Peter in particular, that if fortune favors one of them, in drawing the 3 aforesaid jewels or whole purse, the winner should give the loser the pearl, or 2,000 florins out of the purse; which is likewise evidently an equal contract.

"In the fourth place, let John have agreed with Paul in particular, that if the jewels or purse should fall by lot to one of the two, the winner should in compensation give the loser the ruby, or the 3,000 florins out of the purse; which is again indisputably an equal contract.

"The four conventions or contracts being thus en-

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tered upon, the matter as concerns John is reduced to this: that he has 3 easy and equal expectations or chances—that is to say, one chance of the pearl, or of 2,000 florins, if fortune favor Peter, who, in compliance with, and in virtue of the third above-named contract, made with him in particular, must give up to John the pearl, or 2,000 florins; one chance of the ruby, or of 3,000 florins, if fortune favor Paul, who, from the tenor of the fourth contract, made with him in particular, must give John the ruby, or 3,000 florins; and, lastly, one chance of the diamond, or of 4,000 florins, if fortune favor himself, (John) since, by virtue of the two aforesaid particular contracts, John having to hand over to Peter the pearl, or 2,000 florins, and to Paul the ruby, or 3,000 florins, yet retains for himself the diamond, or 4,000 florins; which chances all proceed from the aforesaid jewels, or from the purse of 9,000 florins, drawn by lot: so that, because John can obtain the proposed expectations by a third share of the 3 jewels, or by a capital of 3,000 florins, such third of the 3 aforesaid jewels, or the capital of 3,000 florins, is the real value of the expectations or chances proposed in the first presupposition. We will in the same manner demonstrate the proposition when there are 2, 4, 5, 6, equal expectations or chances, and even more, of objects of different value, provided that we assume in greater or lesser proportion as many contractors with or partners of John, as also in greater or lesser proportion as many particular contracts made with each of his partners; therefore, the proposition is generally demonstrated.

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"COROLLARY.

"From that which precedes, we may easily conclude that the before-described rule is not the less decisive, although some of the expectations or chances be of zero or nothing; because in such case the demonstration requires no further change than then to suppose one associate or partner more than the number of objects of value, relatively to the expectations; and further, that no contract like the above is made with the partners or associates.

"If, for example, John has the following expectations or chances, namely,—

Chances.		
1 of zero or nothing, ...	0	florins.
1 of a certain pearl	2,000	"
1 of a certain ruby	3,000	"
1 of a certain diamond	7,000	"
4	4) 12,000	"
	3,000	florins.

I say that the four above mentioned chances are together worth to him precisely the quarter of the three above named jewels, or the sum of 3,000 florins; for supposing that John, having bought with Peter, Paul and Nicholas, the three aforesaid jewels, or that each of them having furnished 3,000 florins, they have made a common purse of 12,000 florins, and then that he makes a general agreement with them, and with Peter and Paul, each separately, but *not* with Nicholas, a special contract, (similar to that made by him above,) the matter as concerns John is reduced to this, that

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he has four equal expectations or chances, namely, one chance of zero or nothing, if fortune favor Nicholas, with whom he has not entered into a special agreement relative to any reciprocal reimbursement;—one chance of the pearl, or of 2,000 florins, if fortune favor Peter, who, in such case, and by virtue of the special contract made between the two, has to give up the pearl to him, or make good 2,000 florins;—one chance of the ruby, or of 3,000 florins, if fortune favor Paul, who, in such case, and according to the special contract, must hand over to John the ruby, or 3,000 florins;—and, lastly, one chance of the diamond, or of 7,000 florins, if fortune favor himself, (John,) because, by virtue of the above mentioned special contracts made with Peter and Paul, to whom respectively he has to hand the pearl, or 2,000 florins, and the ruby, or 3,000 florins, he yet retains for himself the diamond, or 7,000 florins;—which chances all proceed from the aforesaid jewels, or from the purse of 12,000 florins, drawn by lot.

"And it is to be observed, that I have here expressly made use of an example or case of three objects of value, without expression of any sum, as in speaking of a pearl, a ruby, or a diamond, so as to cause the demonstration to be applicable to all sorts of numbers, to fractions as well as integer numbers, to irrational as well as to rational numbers, since all imaginable numbers may be applied to the value of these jew

"SECOND PROPOSITION.

"If any one has different equal expectations or chances, of which some will cause him to obtain each

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a certain sum of money or other object of value, and the others will produce him nothing at all; if, besides, he possesses several other chances, each of a certain sum of money or object of value; and further, if he has some other chances, each of a certain sum of money or object of value, and so on;—we find the actual value of all the aforesaid chances, by multiplying each item or sum of money, relative to each expectation in particular, by the quantity or number of existing chances, then adding the products of the resulting multiplications of these partial operations: we finally divide the sum, or mass of partial products, by the collective number of chances, and the quotient indicates exactly the value of all these chances.

"Suppose, for example, that a person has the following chances of the objects or values annexed:—

Chances.	Each Chance of	
6	0	0
6	1,200	7,200
4	2,100	8,400
3	3,600	10,800
2	4,200	8,400
21		34,800

21)34,800(1,657 1-7*

I say that all the above mentioned chances are together worth to this person exactly 1,657$\frac{1}{7}$; a value which we find, as is mentioned in the proposition, by

* In the original, the old galley form of division, (or, as the Dean of Ely terms it, the scratch method of division,) is here employed, and also in the subsequent examples. I have not, however, thought it worth while to trouble the printers with the new strange and obsolete type it requires.

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multiplying each item, namely, 1,200 by 6; 2,100 by 4; 3,600 by 3; and 4,200 by 2; then adding the products of these multiplications, that is to say, 7,200, 8,400, 10,800, and 8,400, and dividing the sum total, or 34,800, by 21, which is the collective number of chances.

"DEMONSTRATION.

"Because we can represent the above chances reduced to their unities, as well as their values, in the following manner:—

Chances		of
6	1	0
	1	0
	1	0
	1	0
	1	0
	1	0
6	1	1,200
	1	1,200
	1	1,200
	1	1,200
	1	1,200
	1	1,200
4	1	2,100
	1	2,100
	1	2,100
	1	2,100
3	1	3,600
	1	3,600
	1	3,600
2	1	4,200
	1	4,200
21		34,800

And being so represented, according to the solution in the first proposition, their value would be found by ad-

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ding all the values, *i. e.* zero or 0 six times; 1,200 six times, which is the same thing as if the number 1,200 were multiplied by 6; 2,100 four times, or as if 2,100 were multiplied by 4; 3,600 three times, or like that number multiplied by 3; and, lastly, 4,200 twice, or as though 4,200 were multiplied by 2; then by dividing the sum total by the number of chances, namely 21: and as the above summary addition of all the items, individually treated, evidently does not differ from the addition resulting from the multiplication of the items in the aggregate, but is identical, namely 0; 7,200; 8,400; 10,800; 8,400; (the sum of these final items being divided by the same number,—that is, by the sum of the collective chances, or 21,) the same quotient must necessarily be obtained, which proves that the proposition is true.

"COROLLARY.

"It plainly results from the foregoing proposition, that in a strict sense it is not the number of chances of each value which we must consider, in the application of the aforesaid rules, but solely their reciprocal proportion. For it is manifest that the divisor augments or diminishes by the result of the addition of increase or decrease in chances, in the same proportion as the dividend or number to divide increases or diminishes by multiplication, when the ratio between the chances remains the same; so that, as in the aforesaid case, the divisor and dividend remain reciprocally in the same ratio or proportion, and the quotient re-

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mains unchanged, being the real value of all the chances together. This will be better understood by the preceding example, treated as follows in three different methods, with their solution:—

I.

Chances		of	
6	. . .	0	. . . 0
6	. . .	1,200	. . . 7,200
4	. . .	2,100	. . . 8,400
3	. . .	3,600	. . . 10,800
2	. . .	4,200	. . . 8,400
21, divisor.			34,800

34,800 ÷ 21 = 1,657 1-7

II.

Chances		of	
1	. . .	0	. . . 0
1	. . .	1,200	. . . 1,200
½	. . .	2,100	. . . 1,400
½	. . .	3,600	. . . 1,800
½	. . .	4,200	. . . 1,400
3½, divisor.			5,800

5,800 ÷ 3½ = 1,657 1-7

III.

Chances		of	
18	. . .	0	. . . 0
18	. . .	1,200	. . . 21,600
12	. . .	2,100	. . . 25,200
9	. . .	3,600	. . . 32,400
6	. . .	4,200	. . . 25,200
63, divisor.			104,400

104,400 ÷ 63 = 1,657 1-7

"From the reasons before mentioned, we obtain in the above three examples, by means of the operation

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of the rule, one and the same quotient to determine the total value of all the chances, namely 1,657½ (It would be the same in every similar case.)

"THIRD PROPOSITION.

"Each half-year of life is equally destructive or mortal to a person aged 3 or 4 years, to 53 or 54 years; in such period he is neither too young, nor too aged, to be wanting in the vigour needful for the prolongation of his days: so that there is not greater hazard nor likelihood that the day of his death should arrive rather in the first than in the second half-year of this vigorous period, and *vice versâ*; nor that the day of his decease should occur rather in these two aforesaid half-years, considered each in its individuality, than in the third half-year, and *vice versâ*. And thus with the other half-years during the aforesaid space of time.

"DEMONSTRATION.

"Any year of the vigorous period of life of the aforesaid person, being taken at pleasure, the first half of that year, or the first six months, is as destructive or mortal to him as the second six months. (According to the second presupposition.)

"And taking a second or other year of this period of the vigour of his life, in setting out from the second half-year of the first year taken, which ends consequently just six months after the expiration of that first year, the first half of the second year, which thus becomes the second half-year of the first year, is quite as destructive or mortal to him as the second half of the second year, which is thus the third half-year,

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reckoning as before. But, as the first half-year, as well as the third, is as destructive or mortal as the second, the first-half year and the third, compared with each other, are so likewise, since each of them in particular is as destructive or mortal as the second half-year; therefore, the aforesaid half-years, namely, the first, the second, and the third, each separately considered, are equally mortal.

"We might also demonstrate in the same manner that the second half-year and the fourth, when the one is compared with the other, are equally mortal; and again, that consequently the first half-year, the second, the third, and the fourth, each considered by itself, has the same chance of destructiveness: it is the same thing for all the preceding or subsequent half-years, comprised in the above time of the vigour of life;—which was to be demonstrated.

"COROLLARY.

"It results from what precedes, and from the third presupposition, that as life annuities are paid in all the offices of Holland and West Friesland by half-yearly instalments, or from six months to six months, that the annuitant loses all his capital, and receives no return whatever from it, if the life upon which the annuity is sunk happen to die in the first half-year after the purchase, or do not live six whole months. The annuity sunk is here supposed to be 1,000,000 of florins, or 20,000,000 stuyvers, per annum, in order that an exact calculation may be made without fractions: therefore, if the above-mentioned life survive a complete half-year, and do not die until in the course of the second

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half-year, the annuitant has then drawn 10,000,000 stuyvers, from which a deduction being made of 4 per cent. per annum for a half-year, it would have been worth to him in ready cash (that is to say, on the day of purchase of the said annuity,) 9,805,807 stuyvers, which he would have had to pay, if taken at the true value. If the above life survive so long as two complete half-years, and die in the third half-year, the annuitant has then drawn 10,000,000 stuyvers after the expiration of the first half-year, and after that of the second half-year likewise 10,000,000 stuyvers; which sums, deduction being made at 4 per cent. per annum, one for a half-year or six months, and the other for a complete year, would have been worth to him in ready cash, or upon the day of purchase of the said annuity, 19,421,192 stuyvers, and so on, according as the day of decease were to occur in the fourth, fifth, sixth, or further number of half-years, which would have been worth to him each time as many terms or half-yearly sums of 10,000,000 stuyvers as complete half-years had elapsed from the time of the purchase of the annuity, deduction being made as above of the respective discounts. The computed amounts are specially given in the following table :—

If the Nominee survive the following Term of Life. Half-years.	Stuyvers.
0	0
1	9,805,807
2	19,421,192
3	28,849,853
4	38,095,415
5	47,161,435
6	56,051,398

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Half-Years.	Stuyvers.
. . . . .	. . .
98	431,055,833
99	432,490,825
100	433,897,951
101	435,277,751
. . . . .	. . .
118	455,030,042
119	455,999,472
120	456,950,076
121	457,882,220
. . . . .	. . .
138	471,226,168
139	471,881,080
140	472,523,275
141	473,152,998
. . . . .	. . .
152	479,322,884
153	479,820,563
. . . . .	. . .
199	494,754,836
200	494,952,836

['The above table having been calculated very accurately by us the undersigned, Bookkeepers to My Lords the States-General, each separately, and having been collated by us, we find that a perfect agreement exists, without there being any errors in the figures.

(Signed)

'T. Bellechiere.—Jacob Lense.'*

"Thus, then, since an annuitant, having purchased and sunk a life annuity upon a young nominee, has in

* The above Table, computed to such a nicety by De Witt's directions, is composed of the progressive summations of the present values of 1 Million Florins or 20 Million Stuyvers per annum, receivable in 100 half-yearly instalments for 50 years. The second and every even term will be found correct, on the supposition of discount at 4 per cent. per annum; but the first and every odd term erroneous, in the same way that the remark is applicable to Smart's and Tetens' (or

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possession, or in his favor, as many different expectations or chances as there are half-years in which the death of the nominee may occur;—since the first 100 different expectations or chances (comprising the term of 50 years, reckoning from the day of the constitution or purchase of the annuity,) may result with the same facility, and relatively to their probability are equal;—since during this term each half-year of the aforesaid nominee's life is equally destructive or mortal; (which is demonstrated in the third proposition;) since the following 20 chances or expectations (comprising the first 10 years after the expiration of the 50 years above cited), considered one with the other, each in proportion to each of the first 100 chances, are not in a lower ratio than 2 to 3; (according to the third presupposition;)—since the 20 expectations or chances of the 10 following years (comprising the second series of 10 years after the expiration of the first 50 years), also considered one with the other, each in proportion to each of the first 100 expectations or chances, are not in a lower ratio than 1 to 2; (according to the third

Von Drateln's) Tables, at intermediate half-years, by reason of the interest being reckoned by a geometric instead of by an arithmetic mean. In the original a complete table is given from 1 to 200 half-years, which, however, it is useless to repeat in full, as the even terms may be obtained by an easy process from the data in other works, and the odd terms are inapplicable to modern purposes.

Struyck, in his *Uitrekening van de Lyfrenten*, has some remarks on the "prodigious labor" of the two bookkeepers who calculated the Table, although when we compare it with similar ordinary computations of more modern times it is relatively not worthy of such an appellation. At the present date, the tendency is certainly to underestimate such labors; a reaction to the *juste milieu* may, however, take place after a surfeit of Statistics.

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presupposition ;)—since the 14 following expectations or chances (comprising the 7 years after the expiration of the two preceding decennial terms, the epoch at which we here suppose the man to terminate his life), taken one with the other, each in proportion to each of the first 100 expectations or chances, are not in a lower ratio than 1 to 3 ;—it follows that the aforesaid annuitant has in possession, or in his favor, more chances or expectations than there are in the following table :—

Chances.	of Stuyvers.	The Life to survive Half-years.
1 . .	0	. . 0
1 . .	9,805,807	. . 1
1 . .	19,421,192	. . 2
1 . .	28,849,853	. . 3
1 . .	38,095,415	. . 4
1 . .	47,161,435	. . 5
1 . .	56,051,398	. . 6
. . .	. . .	7 to 97 given in original
1 . .	431,055,833	. . 98
1 . .	432,490,825	. . 99
Sum	28,051,475,578	Once = 28,051,475,578*
½ . .	433,897,951	. . 100
½ . .	435,277,751	. . 101
. . .	. . .	102 to 117 in original
½ . .	455,030,042	. . 118
½ . .	455,999,472	. . 119
Sum	8,911,946,713	Two-thirds = 5,941,297,809
		Carried forward . 33,992,773,387

* The addition here presents a clerical error. It should give 281, &c., instead of, as above, 280, &c. ; and the general summation 409,

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Chances.	of Stuyvers.	The Life to survive Half-years.
	Brought forward	. . 33,992,773,387
½ . .	456,950,076	. . 120
½ . .	457,882,220	. . 121
. . . . .		122 to 137 in original
½ . .	471,226,168	. . 138
½ . .	471,881,080	. . 139
	Sum 9,297,075,282	One-half = 4,648,537,641
½ . .	472,523,275	. . 140
½ . .	473,152,998	. . 141
. . . . .		142 to 151 in original
½ . .	479,322,884	. . 152
½ . .	479,820,563	. . 153
128	Sum 6,668,408,125	One-third = 2,222,802,708
		Total . 40,864,113,736

* 40,964,113,736 divided by 128 gives 320,032,130 8 9-16, which divided by 20 gives 16,001,606 18-9.

"Whence it follows that we can immediately determine, by a mathematical calculation, according to the principle of the second proposition above enunciated, the worth to the aforesaid annuitant of all the above-mentioned chances, taken together, always presupposing that such value is payable in ready money on the

&c., instead of 408, &c. This proceeds no further; for in the working ofthe annuity valuation, the total is correctly given by De Witt.

* 40,964,113,736 is here correctly given by De Witt.

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day of purchase of the annuity; and the method is as follows:—

"Since the first 100 items, each taken once, or each multiplied by the number 1, form the sum of 28,151,475,578 stuyvers; since the 20 following items, two-thirds of each being taken, or each multiplied by $\frac{2}{3}$, (or, which is the same thing, two-thirds of the sum of the aforesaid 20 items,) produce a sum of 5,941,297,809 stuyvers; since then the half of the 20 following items gives a sum of 4,648,537,641 stuyvers, and the third of the 14 following and last items that of 2,222,802,708 stuyvers; these sums, being combined, amount together to the sum of 40,964,113,736 stuyvers; which being divided by 128 (the number of chances added together), we find for a quotient (that is to say, the real and exact value of all the collective chances,) the sum of 320,032,130 9 stuyvers, or, 16,001,607 florins: so that 1,000,000 per annum of life annuities, sunk or purchased on a young life, is worth in fact more in ready money, and should consequently be sold for more than 16,001,607 florins,* preserving the right proportion above mentioned; *i. e.*, that proportionately each florin per

* De Witt's calculation may be simplified and explained as follows: *Firstly.* Out of 128 lives, aged say 3 years, 1 is supposed to die in every half-year of the first 100 half-years, or 2 per annum for 50 years, leaving 28 alive, aged 53 years, at the end of the term; out of whom 1 dies in every 9 months, being 0-66̇ per half-year during the next 20 half-years, or 1-33̇ per annum for 10 years, leaving 15-66̇ alive aged 63 years at end of the second term; of whom 1 dies in every year for 10 years, being 0.5 per half-year during the next 20 half-years, leaving

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annum of life annuity is worth more at 16 florins than the interest of a redeemable annuity at 4 per cent. per

5-66 alive aged 73 years at end of the third term; of whom 1 dies in every year-and-a-half for 7 years, being 0-33 per half-year during the next 14 half-years, leaving 1 alive aged 80 at the end of the fourth term; which survivor does not live over another half-year. *Secondly.* Out of the 128 lives, those who die in the respective half-years between the ages of 3 and 80, will receive an annuity certain in half-yearly instalments, for a term equal in continuance to the number of *completed* half-years elapsed between age 3 and the date of their death; therefore, the sum of the present values of half-yearly annuities certain, for the corresponding terms multiplied into the numbers *dying* within such respective terms, gives the present worth of all the annuities which will be enjoyed by the 128 lives, one one-hundredth and twenty-eighth of which represents the present value of the single-life annuity at age of, say, 3 years. The system of valuation is therefore identical with the fifth method described by *Tetens*, whose formula I have had the pleasure to refer to on a previous occasion. (See the *Assurance Magazine*, No. I., pp. 9 and 18; and No. II., p. 18.)

If arranged in the modern form of a life table, the following abstract would represent the course of the results of De Witt's suppositions as to mortality:

Half-year Number.	Age.	Number of living.	Decrements.
1	3	128	1
2	3½	127	1
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
99	52½	29	1
100	53	28	0·66
101	53½	27·33	0·66
102	54	26·66	0·66
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
120	63	15·66	0·50
121	63½	15·16	0·50
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
140	73	5·66	0·33
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
154	80	1·00	1·00

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annum,—and consequently the person who for 16 florins has purchased 1 florin per annum on a young, vigorous, and healthy life, has made a remarkably advantageous contract; I assert it to be remarkably advantageous for the following reasons:—

"Because, in the first place, we have not been able to rate at a certain price, by perfect calculation or correct estimation, the power which the annuitant possesses (power which is of very great value to him) of choosing a life, or person in full health, and with a manifest likelihood of prolonged existence, upon whom to constitute or purchase his annuity, and there is much less risk or danger of a select, vigorous, and healthy life, dying in the first half-year than in some of the following half-years at the beginning of which the aforesaid life might perhaps prove to be in a weak state of health or even in a fatal illness; and such greater likelihood of prolongation of life in the purchase of an annuity upon a select, healthy, and robust life, may further extend itself to the second, third, and some other following terms or half-years.

"In the second place, the advantage resulting from the aforesaid selection is so much the more considerable, as one half year of life, at the commencement of and shortly after the purchase of the life annuity, is of greater value to the annuitant, with respect to the price of such purchase, than eighteen half years during which the person upon whom the annuity is purchased might live after the said purchase, from the age, for example, of 70 to 79 years,—a circumstance which, although at first sight it appears strange and para-

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doxical, is nevertheless real and susceptible of demonstration.

"In the third place, although each of the first 100 half years expiring after the purchase be considered as equally destructive or mortal, according to the principle of the before-established calculation, by reason of the scarcely appreciable difference existing between the first and second half of each year, it is, however, certain, when we examine the matter very scrupulously, that the likelihood of decease of the nominees upon whom life annuities are usually purchased is less considerable, and smaller in the first years after the purchase than in the subsequent years, seeing that the said life annuities are oftenest purchased and sunk upon the lives of young and healthy children of 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 years, or thereabout. During that time, and for some years ensuing, these young lives, having become more robust, are less subject to mortality than about 50 years afterwards, and than for some years anterior to these 50 years; and so much the more, as during the first aforesaid years they either are not, or are but little, exposed to external accidents and extraordinary causes of death, such as those from war, dangerous voyages, debauch, or excesses of drink, of the sex, and other dangers;—for females, there are also confinements and other like causes;—so that the first years after the purchase or foundation of the annuity are the least dangerous, which is a considerable advantage for the annuitant, particularly if we reflect, as I have above stated, that one of the said first years may, as regards the original price of purchase, balance a great number of the subsequent years.

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"Finally, and in the fourth place, it might also evidently occur, that the life upon which the annuity has been sunk were to live more than 77 years after the purchase, being the time supposed in the above calculation as the term of human life, although such considerations cannot be of much importance; for, notwithstanding that by presupposing the aforesaid nominee living still longer than the expiration of the said term, and preserving life up to the hundredth year inclusive, so that the annuitant or his heirs were to receive 46 more entire half years of annuity, after the expiration of the term of the aforesaid 77 years, this could not, however, increase the price of the life annuity (calculated, as precedes, at about 16 years' purchase, *i. e.*, at more than 16 florins of capital for 1 florin of annuity per annum,) by more than 14½ stuyvers of the same capital; and even if the annuitant could be assured that his heirs were, after the expiration of the above 100 years, to enjoy the life annuity from half year to half year, and that perpetually, the value of the capital at the time of first purchase would not thereby be increased by 10 stuyvers.

"Whence likewise, although it may be considered that the latter years are not established as sufficiently destructive and mortal in the aforesaid presuppositions and in the calculations upon which I have based them, when compared with the anterior years and the time of life's vigor, we easily conclude that it could not cause an appreciable rise in the price of the purchase found by the above calculation, which in fact is true, even on the presupposition of each half year of the 10 years after the sixtieth year of the purchase being, instead of

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twice, three times more destructive and mortal than each half year of the first 50 years, and of each half year of the 7 subsequent years being, instead of three times, five times more destructive and mortal than each of the aforesaid first years; and even on the presupposition again, as above, that the said nominee would not survive beyond 77 years after the first purchase. All these presuppositions (which, however, manifestly represent the life as subject to too high mortality) could scarcely reduce by 6 stuyvers the aforesaid 16 florins or value of the before-described annuity. In consequence of all these reasons, we may assume it as established and demonstrated, that the value of a life annuity, in proportion to the redeemable annuity at 25 years' purchase, is really not below, but certainly above 16 years' purchase; so that a person, wishing to purchase a life annuity in such proportion and according to its real value, ought to pay more than 16 florins for 1 florin of annuity per annum.

"Besides the consideration that this calculation has been made on the principle of a deduction of 4 per cent. per annum, at compound interest, and this with such benefit to the purchaser of the life annuity that he would realize not only the interest per annum, but also, without any intermission, interest upon interest at 4 per cent. per annum, as though he could always thus advantageously make use of his money in purchase of annuity; it is constant that one could not always find such opportunity of investing it, and that one is sometimes obliged to let it lie fallow for some time, and often to lend it at a materially smaller interest, to provide against a greater loss.

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"Even besides this, as the capital of life annuities is not subject to taxation, nor to a reduction to a lower amount of annuity or interest, it follows, that if the blessing of the Almighty continue to be vouchsafed to this country, we may consider the life annuity as much more advantageous to the annuitant than the redeemable annuity, as may manifestly be judged by the example of foregoing times,—by reflecting, in fact, that My Lords the States of Holland and West Friesland have in the course of a few years not only increased the charge for life annuities from 11 years' purchase to 12 years' purchase, and from 12 years' purchase to 14 years' purchase, but that these annuities have been sold, even in the present century, first at 6 years' purchase, then at 7 and at 8, and that the majority of all life annuities now current and at the country's expense were obtained at 9 years' purchase; which annuities, by reason of the successive reductions of the rate of interest from $6\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 per cent., and then from 5 per cent. to 4 per cent., produce to the annuitants an actual profit of nearly one-half of each half-year's payment, and of more than one-half in the case of those annuities which were obtained at 8 years' purchase or under.

"JOHN DE WITT."

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DIRECTORS.

James Goodwin,	Edward W. Parsons,
Edmund G. Howe,	E. D. Brigham, Boston,
Edwin D. Tiffany,	T. Polhemus, Jr., N. Y.,
Mason Gross,	E. B. Watkinson,
Edmund B. Hull,	George Sumner,
Henry Hastings,	John C. Palmer.

James Goodwin, *President.*
Edmund G. Howe, *Vice President.*
Guy R. Phelps, *Secretary.*
George Sumner, M. D., *Physician.*

Accumulated Capital, $2,154,489 01.

W. S. DUNHAM,

General Agent for New-York and New-Jersey.

Office, 54 Wall-street, New-York.

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ALBION

Life Insurance Company.

LONDON AND NEW-YORK.

ESTABLISHED 1805.

THE COMPANY HAS BEEN IN SUCCESSFUL OPERATION FIFTY YEARS.

The Albion presents to the insured all the advantages of the Mutual system with the security of a Joint Stock Company; having a large paid up Capital (a portion of which is invested in the United States) with responsible Stockholders, and dividing the profits every third year among the Insured.

Policy holders in this office share in the profits from the day they insure—the Profits are declared every third year and paid in Cash to those who elect to receive the Bonus in that form—

BONUS.

The Profits added to Participating Policies in the years 1849, 1852, and 1855, averaged 40 per cent. and in some cases has amounted to 68 per cent. on the total amount of premium paid.

The Profits payable in Cash have never been less than 20 per cent.; this entitles each policy holder to a return every third year of one-fifth of the premiums paid, and renders the rates of this office peculiarly favorable.

The Bonus in reduction of the premium is equivalent to the above.

The next division will be in 1858.

HALF CREDIT SYSTEM.

When the Insurance is for whole-term of life one-half the premium for the first five years may remain as a permanent loan at interest without giving a Note. By this regulation the Policy holder participates in the profits at an outlay of only one-half the premium, and should the Policy be discontinued at any time there is no claim for arrears.

Premiums may be paid yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly, or in a single payment. FIFTEEN days grace is allowed.

ROBT. S. BUCHANAN,
44 Wall-street.

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UNITED STATES

Life Insurance Company

IN THE CITY OF NEW-YORK.

No. 40 WALL-STREET.

PRESIDENT,

JOSEPH B. COLLINS.

DIRECTORS.

JOSEPH B. COLLINS,	WILLIAM TUCKER,
LUTHER BRADISH,	SHEPHERD KNAPP,
JAMES SUYDAM,	EDWARD S. CLARK,
JAMES MARSH,	ISAAC N. PHELPS,
JOHN J. CISCO,	FRANCIS T. LUQUEER,
THOMAS C. DOREMUS,	JOHN J. PHELPS,
ISAAC A. STORM,	CHARLES E. BILL,
JAMES S. POLHEMUS,	GERARD STUYVESANT,
JOHN A. LUQUEER,	CLINTON GILBERT,
JOSIAH RICH,	JACOB HARSEN,
CHARLES M. CONNOLLY,	WILLIAM B. BOLLES,
B. F. WHEELWRIGHT,	H. K. CORNING,
WILSON G. HUNT,	JOHN C. BALDWIN,
D. H. ARNOLD,	EDWARD MINTURN,
W. R. VERMILYE,	LUCIEN D. COMAN,

This Company insures lives, with or without participation in the profits. Dividends of profits are made every three years.

PHYSICIANS:

JAMES W. G. CLEMENTS, M. D., MEDICAL EXAMINER, (Residence, 19 Amity Street,) at the office of the Company daily, from 12 to 1, P. M. Will wait on applicants at their dwellings.

GEORGE P. CAMMANN, M. D., CONSULTING PHYSICIAN.

N. G. DE GROOT, *Actuary*. JOHN EADIE, *Secretary*.

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THE MUTUAL

Life Insurance Company

OF NEW-YORK.

OFFICE: 111 BROADWAY,

TRINITY BUILDING.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

FREDERICK S. WINSTON,	JOHN WADSWORTH,
MILLARD FILLMORE,	WM. J. BUNKER,
DAVID HOADLEY,	SAM'L M. CORNELL,
WILLIAM V. BRADY,	SAM'L E. SPROULLS,
HENRY A. SMYTHE,	JOHN M. STUART,
ROB'T H. M'CURDY,	HAMLIN BLAKE,
JOHN V. L. PRUYN,	ALFRED EDWARDS,
WILLIAM BETTS,	LUCIUS ROBINSON,
ISAAC GREEN PEARSON,	SAMUEL D. BABCOCK,
WILLIAM MOORE,	RODMAN G. MOULTON,
JOHN H. SWIFT,	CHARLES J. STEDMAN,
EUGENE DUTILH,	CEPHAS H. NORTON,
RICHARD PATRICK,	JOHN P. TREADWELL,
JOSEPH BLUNT,	EZRA WHEELER,
NATHANIEL HAYDEN,	WILLIAM H. POPHAM,
JONATHAN MILLER,	LYCURGUS EDGERTON,
ABRAHAM BININGER,	W. SMITH BROWN,
JOHN P. YELVERTON,	GEORGE R. CLARK.

FRED'K S. WINSTON, PRESIDENT,

Actuary, CHARLES GILL. *Secretary*, ISAAC ABBATT.

Medical Examiner, MINTURN POST, M. D.

General Agent, HENRY H. HYDE.

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LIFE INSURANCE.

KNICKERBOCKER

Life Insurance Company,

OFFICE, No. 17 WILLIAM-ST.

THIS COMPANY, with a cash capital of $100,000, which is deposited with the Comptroller of the State as a security to policy-holders, and a surplus of $50,000, continues to issue Life or Term Policies, on as favorable terms as any other Company in the country. Persons desirous of effecting insurance for the benefit of their families are invited to examine our prospectus and the books of the Company.

ERASTUS LYMAN, President.

STEPHEN C. WHEELER, Secretary.

R. H. BULL, Actuary.

Dr. D. M. REESE, 852 Broadway, is the Medical Examiner of the Company, who attends at the office daily from 12 to 1, and who will examine applicants at their residences when desired.

The following Directors compose the Executive and Finance Committees:

EXECUTIVE.

JOHN B. KITCHING, Esq., *Chairman.*

Messrs. MARSHALL LEFFERTS, Messrs. E. B. LITCHFIELD,
GEORGE M. WHEATON, Hon. WM. WRIGHT,
G. H. STRIKER, jr., HENRY B. HART.
J. W. HALSTED,

FINANCE.

J. W. HALSTED, ISAAC KIP, jr., and E. S. MUNROE.

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ELEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

New-York Life Insurance Co.

Amount of Assets, January 1, 1855....		$902,062 70
Amount of premiums received during the year ending Jan. 1, 1856.....	$319,885 02	
Amount of interest received and accrued during the year ending Jan. 1, 1856	58,241 72	
Amount of endowment account received same time.....	59 40	—378,186 14
Total.....		$1,280,248 84

DISBURSEMENTS.

Amount paid for Losses by Death.....	$135,726 56	
Amount paid for interest on Dividends, Re-insurances, &c.....	20,267 29	
Amount paid for Taxes.....	3,015 44	
Amount paid for Salaries, Fees to Physicians, Trustees, &c.....	13,454 85	
Amount paid for Advertising, Printing, Stationary, Office rent and expenses, law expenses, &c.....	5,220 09	
Amount paid for Commissions, Medical examinations, Postages, Advertising, Exchanges, &c.....	24,313 50	
Amount of Canceled Notes and Return Premiums on Canceled Policies.....	19,242 46	—221,240 19
Accumulated Fund.....		$1,059,008 65

ASSETS.

Cash on hand.....	42,560 11	
Invested in N. Y. State Securities.....	189,929 35	
Bonds and Mortgages.....	383,723 28	
Quarterly and Semi-Annual Premiums due subsequent to Jan. 1, 1856.....	11,452 11	
Interest accrued up to Jan. 1, 1856.....	21,872 60	
Notes received for 40 per cent. of premiums on Life Policies, bearing interest.....	392,288 21	
Premiums on Policies in the hands of Agents..... ...	17,182 99	
		$1,059,008 65

The Trustees have declared a scrip dividend of Thirty per cent. on all Life Policies which have been in force twelve months prior to January 1, 1856, and 6 per cent. interest in cash, upon all previous dividends, payable on and after the first Monday of March next.

MORRIS FRANKLIN, President. PLINY FREEMAN, Actuary.

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HOWARD

Life Insurance Company

OF NEW-YORK,

No. 237 BROADWAY.

COR. PARK PLACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

S. CAMBRELENG,	JAMES S. SANDFORD,
JOHN L. BUCKLEY,	JOSEPH FOULKE,
HENRY BEADEL,	SAMUEL H. FOSTER,
JOHN R. SUYDAM,	JOHN GRAY,
ROBERT SCHELL,	GEORGE W. RIGGS,
HENRY S. LEVERICH,	F. A. PALMER,
JACOB REESE,	NATHAN STARR,
F. W. EDMONDS,	W. N. McINTIRE,
GEORGE CLARK,	ALEX. MUIR,
JAMES F. HALL,	JNO. S. HARRIS,
JOHN W. MERSEREAU,	N. H. WOLFE,
R. W. HOWES,	J. W. KELLOGG,
BENJ. BABCOCK,	JOSEPH BRITTON,
EUGENE DUTILH,	ALBERT WARD,
AMOS ROBBINS,	JOHN SLOSSON.

JACOB REESE, President.

WM. V. PORTER, Secretary.

MEDICAL EXAMINERS.

CHARLES D. SMITH, M. D., 21 West Fifteeth-street.
EDWARD FIELDS, M. D. 4 Charlton-street.
(In attendance daily at the Office from 2 to 3 o'clock, P. M.
JOHN T. METCALFE, M. D. Consulting Physician.
S. CAMBRELENG, Esq., Counsellor.

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NEW-YORK

Life Insurance & Trust Company,

Office, No. 52 WALL-STREET.

CAPITAL, $1,000,000.

DAVID THOMPSON, PRESIDENT.

Trustees.

DAVID THOMPSON,	L. S. SUAREZ,
THOS. W. LUDLOW,	WM. H. ASPINWALL,
G. C. VERPLANCK,	JOHN J. PALMER,
WM. B. ASTOR,	HENRY CHAUNCEY,
JAMES I. JONES,	JAMES COLLES,
GEO. GRIFFIN,	ROBERT L. KENNEDY,
ROBERT RAY,	HAMILTON FISH,
JOSEPH KERNOCHAN,	DANIEL PARISH,
MOSES TAYLOR,	JOSEPH SAMPSON,
DANIEL LORD,	WM. KENT,
C. W. LAWRENCE,	JOHN GREIG, Canandaigua,
R. C. GOODHUE,	JAS. HOOKER, Poughkeepsie,
J. T. JOHNSTON,	AUGS. JAMES, Rhinebeck.

PHILIP R. KEARNY, *Secretary.*

The Company insures Lives; grants and purchases Annuities; and makes any other contracts involving the interest of money and the duration of life.

DEPOSITS.

The Company allows interest on deposits payable upon 10 days' notice,	3	per cent. per annum.
" " for 6 months, - - - - -	4	" "
" " for 2 years and over, - - -	5	" "
On all deposits by the Court of Equity and Surrogates,	5	" "

And on all deposits intended for accumulation, such interest as may be agreed on.

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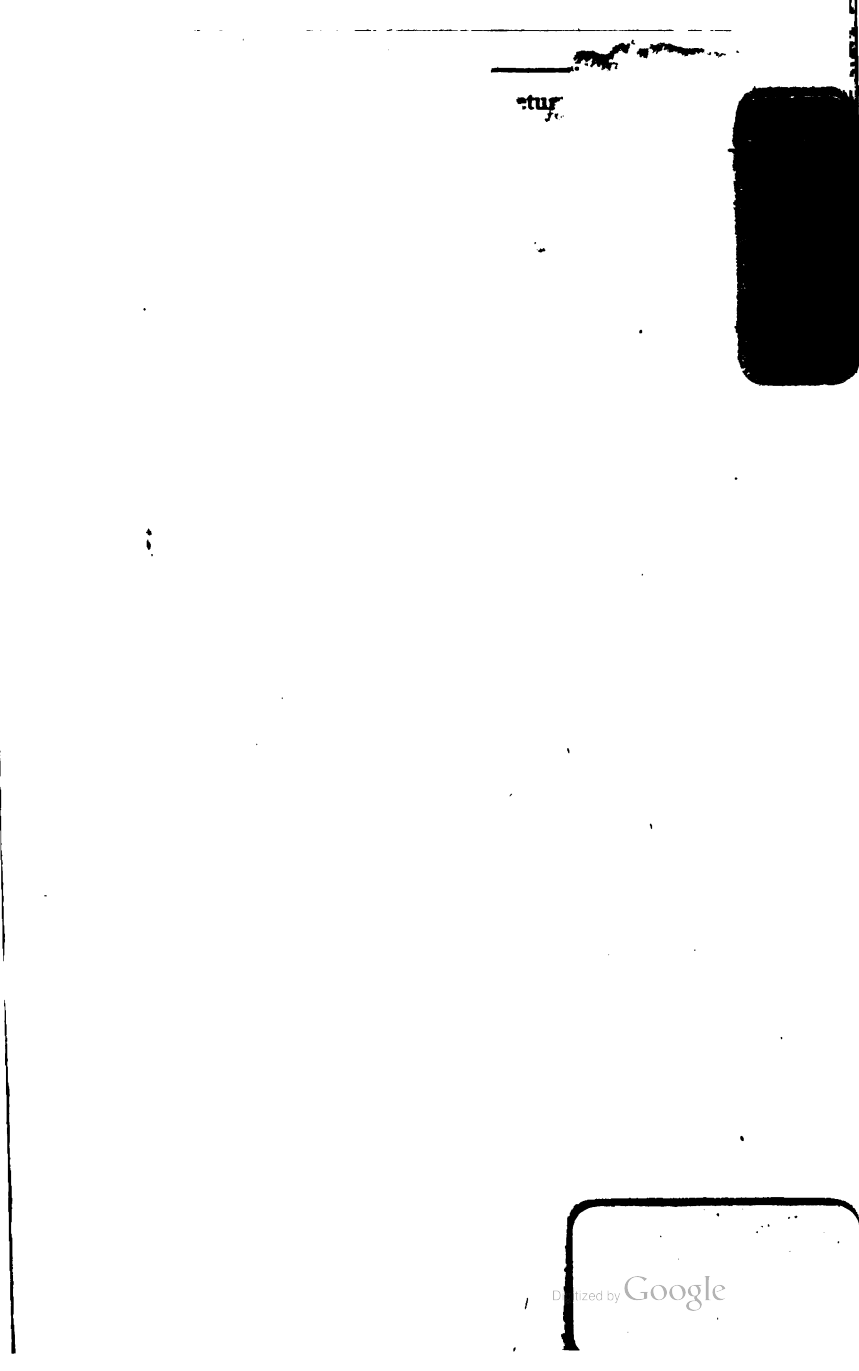
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